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LEGISLATIVE LIFE, ITS REALITIES, FACTS, WIT & HUMOR

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

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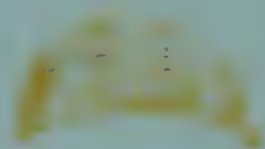


By Senator John F. Parker
State Senate Republican Floor Leader

New Legislators' Orientation
State House, Boston

January, 1985

Revised August 1985



DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF

1938 - MR. FRANK T. NORTON, JR. - 1985

Who for more than 25 years faithfully served the State Senate as a page and later reproduction supervisor in the Senate Clerk's office and who was so helpful in the publication of this Legislative Orientation Book.

Senator John F. Parker

SERVICE IN THE GENERAL COURT

TO SERVE IN THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT IS AND SHOULD BE ONE OF THE ULTIMATE HONORS THAT CAN COME TO A CITIZEN OF OUR GREAT COMMONWEALTH.

DOWN THROUGH THE CENTURIES COUNTLESS DEDICATED MEN AND IN RECENT YEARS MANY WOMEN HAVE GIVEN A PART OF THEIR LIVES TO PUBLIC SERVICE AS MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE.

SOME HAVE FAILED TO PUT INTO LAW THEIR DREAMS AND IDEALS. OTHERS HAVE HAD GREAT INFLUENCE IN MATTERS OF PUBLIC INTEREST AND NEED AND HAVE MOVED THROUGH THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS VARIOUS PETITIONS BENEFICIAL TO THE WELFARE OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

FROM ITS INCEPTION MORE THAN 365 YEARS AGO THE GENERAL COURT HAS PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE RICH AND THE POOR AND THOSE IN-BETWEEN TO SERVE OR BE HEARD ON THE ISSUES OF THE DAY. IT IS A REMARKABLE INSTITUTION WHICH GAINS ITS ON-GOING STRENGTH FROM THE GRASS ROOTS.

THE GENERAL COURT IS A MELTING POT AND HAS OPENED ITS DOORS TO EVERY TRADE, PROFESSION, AND PURSUIT KNOWN TO MAN. ITS ETHNIC FLAVOR HAS INVOLVED A WIDE RANGE OF NATIONALITIES. IT HAS EMBRACED A GREAT VARIETY OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. TRULY THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT IS THE PEOPLE'S FORUM. MAY IT REMAIN SO FOREVER.

---J. F. P.

THIS VOLUME IS NOT INTENDED AS A CONTINUING,
STEP-BY-STEP DISSERTATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE
PROCESS.

RATHER IS IT A RAMBLING COLLECTION OF THOUGHTS,
OBSERVATIONS AND OPINIONS, FLAVORED WITH HISTOR-
ICAL AND HUMOROUS MATERIAL.

IT CONTAINS SOME INCISIVE COMMENTS BY MASSACHU-
SETTS AND OTHER POLITICAL FIGURES ON LEGISLATIVE
SERVICE AND THE POWERFUL ISSUES OF THE DAY.

THIS VOLUME IS ALSO INFORMATIONAL AND TELLS
SOMETHING OF THE MIGHTY LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLES
OF OTHER YEARS AND PAYS TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO
HAVE ACQUIRED LONG LEGISLATIVE SERVICE.

IT ALSO CONTAINS SINCERE AND HUMOROUS MATERIAL
DESIGNED TO EASE THE BURDENS THAT OFTEN WEIGH
UPON LEGISLATORS.

THE MESSAGE OF THIS VOLUME IS SIMPLE: DO THE JOB
RIGHT. DO IT WELL. DO IT HONESTLY AND KEEP YOUR
SENSE OF PROPORTION. CONTRIBUTE YOUR VERY BEST
FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

ABOVE ALL ELSE: DO NOT TAKE YOURSELF TOO SERIOUS-
LY, AND FIND TIME TO LAUGH AND ENJOY.

-----Senator John F. Parker
Republican Floor Leader
Massachusetts State Senate

OPINION AND FACT

The Comments:

The legislature is Indecisive.
The Legislature is timid and ineffective.
The Legislature is not responsive.
The Legislature is antiquated.
The Legislature is controlled by Special interests.
The Legislature is not interested in Towns.
The Legislature is not interested in Cities.
The Legislature is without purpose or direction.
The Legislature is all confusion, muddle and clutter.
The Legislature is a breeding ground for do-nothings.
The Legislature has no interest in passing laws.
The Legislature is, etc., etc., etc., etc., etc., etc...

The charges above are sometimes true. Some legislative bodies over the years have left much to be desired in representing the people. But, as a general rule, over more than 200 years under the Constitution and despite the never-ending criticism it has received the Massachusetts Legislature has met the challenge and stands as a leading state in the nation in meeting the needs of the people.

There is no record of how many petitions have been filed in the more than 200 years since the Legislature was organized in 1780 under John Hancock as Governor, Thomas Cushing as President of the Senate, along with Caleb Davis as House Speaker.

It has been estimated, however, that perhaps more than a half-million petitions have been filed since 1780, under the right of free petition, guaranteed by Article 19 of the Constitution.

The sifting and weighing process, slow and ponderous as it may seem to outsiders, has been the saving grace of the Massachusetts legislative process. It was designed this way by the framers of the Constitution and the original rules makers. Many grumble at the snail-like action on legislation. Others feel it makes for finer and better laws. It doesn't satisfy everybody.

In any event in 200 years the Legislature has produced more than 80,000 Laws and 25,000 Resolves, many of which have been beneficial to the needs of the people and have set forth Legislative expressions on difficult and important issues of the times.

Following is a record, since 1780:

ACTS APPROVED:	80,758	RESOLVES APPROVED:	25,369
GOV. VETO	1,297	GOV. VETO	95
SUSTAINED VETO	725	SUSTAINED VETO	87
OVERRIDDEN VETO	153	OVERRIDDEN VETO	18
EFFECTIVE WITHOUT GOV. SIGNATURE	364	EFFECTIVE WITHOUT GOV. SIGNATURE	32

Courage is a Comfortable Virtue

It fills the soul with inward peace and strength: this is just what it is-- courage is simply strength of heart. Its opposite is fear-- weakness, bondage, feverish unrest.

Some people are so afraid to die that they have never begun to live: so afraid to fail, that they have never begun to act.

But courage forces us that we may give ourselves freely to God. If only we can keep ourselves without reproach, that is what the psalmist meant by good courage and strength of heart, then we shall not shrink from the foes who threaten us, we shall not falter at the trials of life that often plague us, but we shall move onward without fear.

Give us this day O Lord, the grace of courage--
a most comfortable, pleasant, peaceful and happy virtue."

The Last Prayer of the Chaplain - December 6, 1982

† Monsignor George V. Kerr †

February 14, 1919 - January 21, 1983

House Chaplain from January 7, 1959

Massachusetts House of Representatives

"It is not the critic who counts, not the one who points out how the strong man stumbled or how the doer of deeds might have done them better.

"The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred with sweat and dust and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who, if he wins, knows the triumph of high achievement; and who, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat."

Theodore Roosevelt

"REMARKS TO INCOMING LEGISLATORS"

BY SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER

REPUBLICAN FLOOR LEADER

ORIENTATION SEMINAR

STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, JANUARY 28, 1985

Before your arrival here as Senators or Representatives, something more than 45,000 other citizens have served in both branches of the Massachusetts General Court, since first the Constitution was adopted in 1780.

That's a lot of people and you may be assured that before you arrived a great deal of legislative ground has been gone over.

Yes, this so-called modern Legislature goes back over 200 years, and before that another 150 or so years to 1630 under Colonial and Mother Country England rule. So, in effect---with an interruption during the Revolution when King George closed the whole place down and chased the assemblymen out of town---more than 350 years of representative government have preceded you to this State House and other governmental seats.

And, so, now it is your turn. You are the latest elected Senators and Representatives. You will add to the body count, of course, but beyond that, hopefully you will add to the prestige, the credit, the integrity and the growth of this fine old Commonwealth.

So, welcome aboard.

I might state also, that, if you think about it, perhaps anywhere up to 100 different individuals have served in the seat you now hold. Most of the names have been lost in time, but it would be nice for you to think about them as you take your seats in the House and Senate and say to yourself: "I'm as good as any of them---no matter who: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Samuel Adams, James Otis, Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Horace Mann, Henry Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Henry Cabot Lodge, Leverett Saltonstall, Leslie Cutler, Tip O'Neill, Joe Martin, John McCormack, Silvio Conte or whomever."

Remember, they started, as you did, on January 2 in the House or Senate chamber, raising their right hands and solemnly affirming their loyalty to the laws of the Commonwealth and the Constitution thereof. It was the same oath you took.

As they stood there, the great men of Massachusetts, and you will note many of their names around the dome of the House Chamber, they, as young men---like all of you---and I can add the women also, had no idea where it would all take them---some on breath-taking political journies all the way to the Vice Presidency and Presidency of the United States---John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Calvin Coolidge, and into the Vice Presidency, Elbridge Gerry and Henry Wilson, and you go on and on.

So, the chance is here. You are a member now of the oldest organization in continuous existence in the United States---The Massachusetts Legislature. It has withstood the turbulence of time, the storms, the strife, the abuse, the intrigues, the constant pounding and doubting. It has been battered and bruised, condemned and ridiculed, miss-trusted and scorned, torn apart by its own members and demagogues, lied about, cried about, often savaged by the Press (and sometimes rightfully so.) But it has survived. It's record of over 80,000 laws and 25,000 resolves over 200 years indicates that for all the censure and denunciation that can come to an individual member or the total legislative body, life's most unforgettable and rewarding experience will have been to serve some part of one's life here as a member of the House or Senate, and to have contributed to having placed good laws on the books for the benefit of your fellow human beings.

And, so again, welcome to the Massachusetts General Court. I am sure you will agree it's a good feeling to be here. Personally, I never lost my good feeling to cynicism. I love the place. And I hope you will too.

You are one of only 200 citizens of this Commonwealth out of a population of some 6 million, who have been designated to run this state for your fellow citizens. It is an honor, a testimonial, an accomplishment in addition to being the most exclusive club around. Remember, this Legislative club only admits winners and you are one of them. The person next to you won't be a loser. If he is they won't let him in---so it's a winner's club all the way, and that's a pretty heady observation.

Many of you have come through rough campaigns. I know, I've been there as has Maurice Donahue and the others. The bitterness can penetrate to the marrow of your bones. My first advice to you is this: Place those conflicts behind you. Forget those things that were said in the heat of a campaign. If you stay in politics you change heads anyway. Your enemy today might be your friend tomorrow and vice versa. Don't lord it over your defeated opponent.

I realize that each person coming into this Legislature has a different drive, a different zest and hunger. Some come here because the opportunity presented itself and so "here I am." Others came here deeply driven and powered by a passionate desire to change whatever they felt was wrong. Others want to reform the rules, though they don't even know what they are. Others cry "We need more laws for this and for that," never stopping to figure we have more laws now than we know what to do with---more than any other state in the union per capita of people. Between laws and resolves in the number of over 100,000, we have one law or resolve for every 60 people.

In addition, more bills and petitions are filed in Massachusetts than in any other state in America---a two year session piling up close to 20,000 House and Senate petitions. Thank God only about 1,400 get into law over the same two years.

No one ever came in here knowing everything. There is an old-time expression that it takes six months to find out where the front door is. Be that a fact or not, it does take some apprenticeship to be anything and that includes being a legislator.

Accept the fact you don't know it all. Nobody will look down on you for that. You must go through the same learning process as all others who have passed through these two branches. And, surprisingly, there is more desire now to help new members than there was in the so-called old days. Nobody told us anything, no staff, no stamps, no offices, no aides, no xerox machines, computers, fancy typewriters, seminars. You were just tossed into the fray and you went from there, blood, guts and all.

Frankly, I like this way better. My feeling is that our legislators now are better informed and prepared.

If you become involved, you're going to start losing legislation. Nobody bats over 300 in this league, unless he or she only files bills to name bridges, roads and buildings. If you become involved in the hard and tough issues of the times, you are going to have to understand the meaning of defeat as well as the exhilaration of victory. But, whatever, learn to accept defeat gracefully. It's part of a serious legislator's daily work. I know what defeat means as minority leader. I have seen legislators who fret and frustrate, argue and threaten when they are rebuffed on the floor and storm out of the chamber and take as a personal affront any loss on the floor or out of a committee.

Of course we know they were short on something called class, which is a necessary ingredient to be a well-thought of legislator.

Don't be swift to embrace each new panacea to patch holes in the Commonwealth structure, lest you do it further damage. Only this past year we had three or four bills, the education reform measure, presumptive sentencing, Mass Bank, Workmen's compensation, which, if all were passed as they appeared on the calendars, would have blown a billion dollar hole in the Golden Dome, so wise heads prevailed and slowed down the horses.

Beware of single-issue lobbyists. They are around here like rabbits in a lettuce patch. Always remember there is a lobbyist on the other side also. You can't please everybody, even the loudest and seemingly the most persuasive. After talking to a lobbyist try to find another lobbyists with the opposite point of view. At all costs get both sides of any question. And I might state also there are lobbyists in this building whom you can trust implicitly.

Become known as a person who follows his or her own conscience and works for the benefit of all. You'll win the respect---and possibly the criticism of the single-issue crowd, but you'll be free and independent and you can't beat that philosophy.

Don't zero in on one segment of the population for special treatment. That is a big game up here. Such favoritism is garnered at the expense of other people, perhaps a more worthwhile element. Fair and equal treatment for all is a goal no voter can

dispute; better still you will escape the loss of self-respect which comes with pandering for votes.

If there is any measure in this place it is the measure taken of a man or woman who breaks a commitment---better known as the double cross. Nobody forgets it and it is passed around. Don't say "yes" to a colleague or a lobbyist and then blatantly slam him with a "no" vote or vice versa. If you want to break the commitment tell him so. Tell him you made a mistake, received additional information. Then ask to be released. It is clean, neat and honest to do it this way.

Never, but never sign a bill that some colleague has shoved in front of you. Read it. Understand it and obtain a second opinion from someone you trust. There is nothing more embarrassing than signing a bill you cannot support. The flattery of being asked to sign makes one feel good. The agony comes later.

Remember this, the Legislature is not a country club, bridge, golf, companionship and good times. There is a lot of that of course, but for the most part the legislature is an adversary forum where powerful disagreements flourish. Every sliver of human emotion comes into play. It is a cauldron. It is the people's forum. It is where, whatever there is to be for new statutes, is hammered out. There is no other place. It's all here!

No matter how complicated or complex the issue, no matter how much you know or don't know---all the rhetoric, all the parliamentary maneuvering, the amendments, the whole schmeer---the ultimate choice you have comes down to a simple affirmation or rejection of the issue before the body---a roll call. This can be very tough and rough, for it is the moment of truth, the sweaty palms, the nervous twitch, the haunted look. There is no place to hide, no luxury of equivocation. This is it. Every tough issue comes down to a simple "Yes" or "No,"---and you have to live with it the rest of your life, and voting either way can roll you around in bed at night. I know that also.

Some days this place will be a total blur to you. Matters will pile up and pink slips will be coming out your ear. It goes with the territory. Confusion, telephone calls, speeches to write, people to see, banquets at night. All of it comes at you endlessly and you must develop your own style to deal with it.

Don't become a media robot. You must keep up on current events, to be sure but don't let the editorial pages of the newspapers run your career, govern your votes or actions. Get your own facts and remember the editorial writer has a job to do and every day comments on something different. I know. I worked with many of them.

As a legislator you will be confronted with many more demands than you can satisfy. None of us want to displease anybody. But in some cases you really never know what will please some people or special interests. The old saw "What have you done for us lately," never fails to ring true here at the State House.

Sure your being here in the State House is euphoric. It's a grand feeling---and a little puffy to our egos. Remember this, however, none of us are divine and there is no way we can perform miracles, despite the many requests to do so.

The Massachusetts General Court has no pipelines to Heaven. There is no way we can raise anybody from the dead. We have no powers of levitation. Miracles are not the business of the Legislature. I have been here over 30 years and never met a man or woman legislator who could call for a bolt of lightning. All the speeches, voting and maneuvering over 200 years have never made it rain or brought the sunshine. No long-gone legislator has ever risen from the dead and surely none has ever been nominated for sainthood.

Despite a lack of supreme power, why then do the citizens demand that we totally wipe out poverty, homelessness, get everybody a job, find everybody a home, raise everybody's salary, scholarships for all, good roads, superb bridges, control drugs, alcoholism, child and wife abuse and on and on into every facet of human failing, need and want, and are angry when we don't.

The answer is we can't do it. We can only try within the limits of our abilities, our means and public acceptance whatever is the crisis among our citizenry. It takes hard work, dedication, understanding and balance. We need legislators who have a feel for the total picture and who are possessed of tolerance, desire and commitment, for there are no Alladin lamps on legislator's desks.

So, again, commit yourself to that which you have told your people you feel honored to hold and they trust you with.

Do your homework. That is all important.

Avoid personal antagonisms, even after bitter debates.

Bring a fresh perspective to your committee work.

Good fellowship, good taste, good judgment, good legislating go hand in hand and make for a better Legislature.

Keep that spark of idealism glowing.

Strive for quality of input. The Commonwealth cannot bear much more bad legislation.

Don't flood the legislative hoppers with badly-drawn legislation that has as much chance as a snow ball in a turkish bath.

Discard out of hand the time-worn theory that gobs and gobs of money thrown at a problem will make it go away.

Don't talk on every bill on the calendar.

Answer your mail.

Take care of your constituents.

You'll be measured fast around here, so be honest with everybody.

Summon up a sense of humor for days will seem very long and the confrontations will be bitter and often personal. A little laughter helps everyone to regain perspective and to relieve tension.

Treat the press with respect. Don't try to manipulate them for your own good. They see through that effort easily.

Respect and honor the legislative system you have worked so hard to be part of. This General Court has a magnificent history and heritage. It is true that Leaders now have less power than they once had and the members have more. Today, practically everybody considers himself or herself a leader. No one humbly states they are followers. The paradox is that without followers there cannot be leaders. Thus it is tougher to make things work.

Lastly, don't join the knock the Legislature crowd. There have been some people in here who have lived off slam-banging the General Court at every turn. They never say a good word about the place but continue to be part of the institution.

They accomplish nothing but aggravation and bombastic oratory. This General Court deserves better and I am sure all of you will become part of the men and women who want to progress, do the job right and bring pride to the institution and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.



Eagle and banner, Senate Chamber

EVOLUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS PARTY GOVERNMENT (1630's - 1980's)



By
Senator John F. Parker

Political parties as we know them today did not exist in the early years of the old Massachusetts colonies. The dominant political factor in the long-ago years of the 1630's was the church and rigid Puritanism was the basis of all legislation. They contended that no sort of government was admissable which was not shaped so as to secure the life and welfare of the church.

The people placed greater faith in the five points of Calvinism than in the five points of a well-founded government---a hereditary monarchy, an established church, an order of nobility, a standing army and a military police. No political party could survive in the Old Colony environment. The church was everything.

In 1631, it was ordered that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches of the same." Then again the Puritans came up with: "Better the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is the church, than to accommodate the church frame to the civil estate."

The purpose of the early law-makers was to build up a Puritan community which had as its result the vesting of undue power in the clergy and the church. The law debarred from the exercise of the elective franchise all, however honest, who were unwilling to conform to the standard of colonial orthodoxy, so there was no room for vibrant political parties. The climate was just not there.

Ministry Powerful Legislative Force

For decades on end the Church was the so-called party government. It controlled the Legislature. The ministry was practically a third House. In fact, opening sessions of the General Court were always platforms for Colony ministers to set forth their agendas and the direction the government should be taking. Many of these annual ministerial dissertations larded with personal opinions were nothing more than blazing oratorical tirades which consumed considerable time much to the chagrin of the Legislators who were compelled to listen to them. Finally, as the General Court moved away from church domination, the ministerial opening sermons were abandoned.

Action in the Massachusetts General Court over the years leading up to the Revolution was hot and heavy. The divisions of the people in their loyalty to the King and the other element striking for independence

brought out the best and worst in the citizenry and the legislators as well. Right up to the first shots at Lexington and Concord, legislative activity was intense and strongly partisan. They were the toughest times in American history and many legislators rose to the challenge at great risk to themselves. It was a time of incredible political courage.

Federalists, Anti-Federalists First Political Parties

In the first two decades following the ratification of the Massachusetts Constitution---1780-1800---candidates were selected on whether they were for or against the state Constitution and whether they were Federalists or Anti-Federalists in their national sentiments. This was the real beginning of party government in Massachusetts and nationally.

Alexander Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists and Thomas Jefferson was the leader of the Anti-Federalists and each boasted of powerful support from various high-level patriots of the times. Massachusetts became a hot-bed of Federalism with Vice-President John Adams a strong advocate of the party.

The early Legislative manuals do not list party labels. However the manuals indicate close attention to religion and for several years the manuals recorded the number of religious denominations and the number of clergymen in the Commonwealth.

After 1800, Legislative candidates were chosen on whether they supported commercial or agrarian interests and whether they represented rural or city-town areas and party government was on its way, however splintered at the time. As differences grew among the electorate so, too, did party government.

Rag-Tag Parties Rage of 1820's

When the press started to pay attention to party designations it reported scores of fragmented, rag-tag groups. For instance in the 1820's Massachusetts newspapers mentioned Jackson Democrats, Jackson Federalists, Jacksonians, Union Administration, Liberal Jacksonians, Exclusive Jacksonians, Free Trade, Republicans, etc., each with a slightly different view of legislative matters. Many of these so-called parties coalesced once they arrived in the Legislature.

In the 1830's the picture showed even more fragmentation: Whigs (National Republicans), Masons(Freemasons), Whigs(Federalists), Tories, Anti-Masons(Democrats), Jacksonians, Democrat-Republican, Workingman, Democrats, Reformers, Freebridge Ticket, Armstrong Ticket, Non-Imprisonment, Fanny-Wrightmen, Abolition, Filmore-Americans, Free-Mason Republicans, Van-Burenites, Bancroft, and Garrison Tickets.

Each of these parties,---many just small groups of activists---had a view of government enough to convince the citizens to vote for them. With over 700 legislators on Beacon Hill it wasn't too hard to get elected on some kind of a trumped-up ticket. With so many diverse political views one can imagine what a jungle the Legislature must have been in the early 1800's.

"Know Nothings" Capture Legislature in 1858

Many of the old-time political parties were the special interest elements of the times. They were single issue parties and often convinced the electorate they were right. For instance the American party had as its platform hostility to foreigners. They demanded that public offices be filled only by native-born Americans. It was a precursor of the "Know-Nothing" party which in 1855 swept the nation and took over the 40-seat Massachusetts Senate and placed 376 of their party members in the House, knocking the Whigs completely out of the State House in one of the wildest clean sweeps in Legislative history.

In the 1840's and the 1850's the plethora of political parties began to lessen. In those years there were The American Republicans, Gardner Americans, Americans (Know-Nothings), Whigs, Liberals, Republicans, Liberty Party, Reform Party, Free Soilers, Abolitionists, Native Americans (Indians), which elected four members to the General Court, "Loco Focos" and "Hoco Pocos."

"Loco Focos", "Hoco Pocos"

Concerning the last two strange-sounding names an explanation is in order. For years through the late 1830's and into the 1840's the Press reported on how many "Loco Focos" were elected. In its May 22, 1837 edition the Free Press and Boston Advocate referred to Democrats as "Loco Focos" and called them "loons."

The Bristol County Democrat and other Democratic papers immediately referred to the Whigs as "Hoco Pocos," stating that "Hoco Poco" is from the Latin "Hocus Pocus," and they translated it into English by stating that the Whigs 'hook us,' and 'poke us' by passing the Bank of Maryland and Indemnity bill.

The name-calling by the Whigs and Democrats lasted for several years before it died out.

Around 1835 the Whigs became very powerful in Massachusetts and controlled the Senate and House for most of the next 20 years. During some legislative sessions the Whigs controlled all of the 40 Senate seats and an overwhelming number of House seats, with Democrats or "Loco Focos" in second place. In 1851 the Whigs and the Democrats tied at 14 seats each in the Senate and the balance was made up by 12 Free Soilers.

Republicans-Democrats Emerge As Popular Parties

After the flash of the "Know-Nothing" Party, which got its name from never admitting anything, the Democratic and the Republican Parties started to emerge and a two-party system began to take hold as the rag-tag parties began to dissolve and fall away.

In 1857 the Republicans took a firm grip on both branches of the Legislature electing 34 Senate members as against two Democrats and four other. The House went Republican by the widest margin ever with 314 Republicans and but three Democrats.

America was coming into the Civil War period and the issues of anti-slavery and Union were powerful Republican platform planks

and the party swept election after the election until in 1867 the Republican power in the Legislature was total in the Senate, 40 Republicans out of forty seats. In the House the numbers rose to 230 Republicans as against but 10 Democrats.

The victory in the Civil War, the freeing of the slaves, the industrial expansion, the opening of immigration avenues to the European masses provided the Republicans with great issues with which to convince the electorate.

100 Year GOP Span in Senate; 90 Years in House

From 1857 to 1959, with only a "Union" Party intervening in 1865-1866, the Republicans controlled the Massachusetts State Senate for over a 100 years. In the House it was nearly the same. Starting in 1857, the Republicans ran up tremendous pluralities against the Democrats, holding the House continuously, except for an 1865 Union Party victory. From 1857 to 1949 when the Democrats broke the 90 year span, it had been total Republican rule.

In the early years there were several occasions when the GOP controlled the entire Senate and in the House, out of 240 members there were only five or six and often not more than 10 Democrats.

Trouble Flag Flies For Republicans in 1940's

By 1948 the trouble flag was flying for the Republicans. In that year the Democrats tied up the Senate 20-20 and the Democrats won the House 122-118 and "Tip" O'Neill became the first Democratic Speaker in modern times.

Following its "close call" in 1948, the Republicans went to work and won the Senate in 1950 by 22-18 but the Democrats held on in the House by 124-116. The Eisenhower campaign saved the day for the GOP in both branches in 1952 with the Republicans back in power in the House 124-110. The Senate went Republican by 25-15.

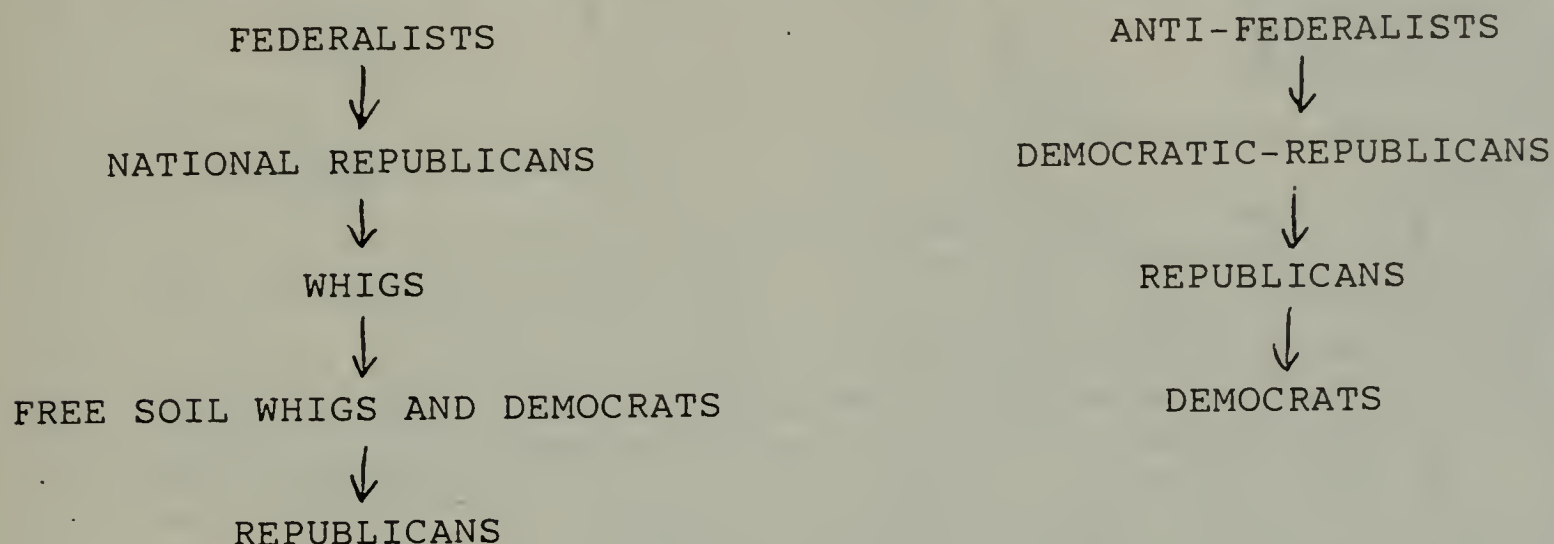
The 1952 election was the high water mark for the Republicans. Never again would the House be Republican. In the 1954 election the Democrats won the House by 124-110, but had to wait until the 1958 election to capture the Senate for the first time by a margin of 21-19.

For the past 32 years the Democrats have continually controlled the House, bringing the Republican strength steadily down to where there are now but 34 GOP members of a 160 member house. On the Senate side, the Republican strength is now down to eight members and has been as low as six members. The Democrats have controlled the Senate for the past 28 years. The 1985 count in the Senate is 32-8.

The movement of city-dwellers along new highways constructed in the 1950's-1960's inundated once Republican suburban communities. When the Democrats assumed almost total control of the Legislature, they effectively re-districted the Republicans down to a tiny minority in both branches.

continued

Setting aside the rag-tag parties of the past and hewing to two mainline parties which have come down through the years to the present, below is how former Representative Alfred S. Roe charted the way the parties have evolved since the constitution:



"IT'S WHEN I'M WRONG
THAT I NEED YOUR VOTE!"

THERE IS AN OLD LEGISLATIVE STORY ABOUT A GOVERNOR WHO HAD CAMPAIGNED EFFECTIVELY FOR A YOUNG CANDIDATE WHO CAME OUT OF THE PACK TO WIN THE ELECTION. THE GOVERNOR FELT HIS CONTRIBUTION WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT ENDORSEMENT THE YOUNG MAN HAD RECEIVED AND EFFECTIVELY PUT HIM OVER THE TOP.

AFTER THE LEGISLATOR SETTLED INTO HIS HOUSE SEAT, HE DISREGARDED REQUESTS FOR SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S PROGRAMS. THE GOVERNOR LOST HIS PATIENCE WITH THE FRESHMAN AND ASKED HIM TO COME TO HIS OFFICE.

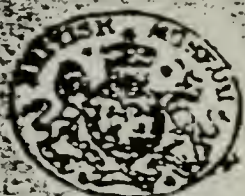
"HAVE YOU FORGOTTEN WHAT I DID FOR YOU IN THE LAST ELECTION," SAID THE GOVERNOR. "NOW I CAN'T GET A VOTE OUT OF YOU FOR ANYTHING."

THE FRESHMAN SHUFFLED HIS FEET AND RESPONDED DEFIANTLY, "YOU KNOW I'LL BE WITH YOU WHEN YOU'RE RIGHT, GOVERNOR, BUT I MUST VOTE MY CONSCIENCE WHEN YOU'RE WRONG."

"HELL, SON," GRUNTED THE GOVERNOR, "WHEN I'M RIGHT I DON'T NEED YOU; IT'S WHEN I'M WRONG THAT I NEED YOUR VOTE."

The Capitall Lawes of *New-England*, as they stand
now in force in the Common-Wealth.

214



BY THE COVRT,

In the Years 1641. 1642.

669. 1. 6
99

Capitall Lawes, Established within the Iurisdiction of *Massachusetts*.

1. **I**F any man after legall conviction, shall have or worship any o'her God, but the Lord God, he shall be put to death. *Deut.* 13. 6, &c. and 17. 2. &c. *Exodus* 22. 20.
2. **I**F any man or woman be a Witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death. *Exod.* 22. 18. *Lev.* 20. 27. *Deut.* 18. 10, 11.
3. **I**F any person shall blaspheme the Name of God the Father, Sonne, or Holy Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, or shall curse God in the like manner, he shall be put to death. *Lev.* 24. 15, 16.
4. **I**F any person shall commit any wilfull murder, which is manslaughter, committed upon premeditate malice, hatred, or cruelty, not in a mans necessary and just defence, nor by meer casualtie, against his will; he shall be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 12, 13, 14. *Nam.* 35. 30, 31.
5. **I**F any person slayeth another suddenly in his anger; or cruelty of passion, he shall be put to death. *Nam.* 35. 20, 21. *Lev.* 24. 17.
6. **I**F any person shall slay another through guile, either by poysonings, or other such divilish practice; he shall be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 14.
7. **I**F a man or woman shall lye with any beast, or bruit creature, by carnall copulation, they shall surely be put to death; and the beast shall be slaine, and buried. *Lev.* 20. 15, 16.
8. **I**F a man lyeth with mankind, as he lyeth with a woman, both of them have committed abomination, they both shall surely be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 13.
9. **I**F any person committeth adultery with a married, or espoused wife, the Adulterer, and the Adulteresse, shall surely be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 10. and 18. 20. *Deut.* 22. 23, 24.
10. **I**F any man shall unlawfully have carnall copulation with any woman-child under ten yeares old, either with, or without her consent, he shall be put to death.
11. **I**F any man shall forcibly, and without consent, ravish any maid or woman that is lawfully married, or contracted, he shall be put to death. *Deut.* 22. 25. &c.
12. **I**F any man shall ravish any maid or single woman (committing carnall copulation with her by force, against her will) that is above the age of ten yeares; he shall be either punished with death, or with some other grievous punishment, according to circumstances, at the discretion of the Judges: and this Law to continue till the Court take further order.
13. **I**F any man stealeth a man, or man-kinde, he shall surely be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 16.
14. **I**F any man rise up by false witness, wilfully, and of purpose to take away any mans life, he shall be put to death. *Deut.* 19. 16, 18, 19.
15. **I**F any man shall conspire, or attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publick rebellion against our Common-wealth, or shall endeavour to surprize any Towne or Townes, Fort or Forts therein: or shall treacherously, or perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of pollicy, or government fundamentally, he shall be put to death. *Nam.* 16. 2 *Sam.* 3. & 18. & 20.

Per exemplar Inscr. Novell. Secret.

"FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS TO BIG GOVERNMENT" (THE GENERAL COURT)

BY

Senator John F. Parker

The massive Massachusetts State Government operating here in 1985 under an almost 9 billion dollar budget and with 200 well paid and independent-minded legislators, has little in common with the Massachusetts Bay Company which derived its corporate existence from a transferred charter which passed the English seals in London under the date of March 4, 1629.

Eleven ships, bearing John Winthrop, the charter and between nine hundred and a thousand emigrants sailed from Cowes and Southampton in England in the early spring of 1630 and some weeks later in June reached the New England coast. The settlers dispersed themselves into the localities which afterward became the towns of Charlestown, Boston, Medford, Watertown, Roxbury, Lynn, and Dorchester. Other ships followed and by the end of the year the total number of persons in the colony is estimated at two thousand, the largest body of English settlers arriving into one community up to that time.

The Charter directed the management of the Company to be in the hands of a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants or directors to whom seven, together with the governor or deputy, were to constitute a quorum "for the better ordering and directing of their affairs." Four times in each year there was to be held a "Great and General Court" or meeting of all "freeman" of members of the Company.

While the Charter called for eighteen "assistants", there is little in the records to indicate all these positions as being filled. Ten is the largest number found in any old colony records. It is embarrassing that out of two thousand souls in the colony, only ten or twelve could be found competent to handle the work, meaning their ability to comprehend the passage of laws, resolves and orders, and meet the requirements of religion, etc. There wasn't much political savvy in the first settlers.

Nevertheless, government became implanted in the good soil of Massachusetts powerfully directed and influenced by Governor John Winthrop and others of the Court of Assistants. Assent by the Governor and at least six of the assistants was essential to action by the General Court.

In the primitive years of the 1630's all the functions of government, legislative, executive, and judicial were mingled in a quaint and curious manner. This is demonstrated in a well-illustrated account of the legislative records of November 9th, 1630, to wit:

"A Court of Assistants holden at Boston, November 9th, 1630.

(continued)

Present:

The Governor, Deputy Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall

Mr. Ludlow, Captain Endicott, Mr. Coddington

Mr. Cinchon, Mr. Bradstreet

"It is ordered that whereas the usual rate of beaver hath been after 6s the pound, it shall be hereafter left free for every man to make the best profit and improvement of it that he can." (Note: Free Enterprise was their theme.)

"It is ordered that every English-man that killeth a wolf in any part within the limits of this patent shall be allowed him 1d for every beast and horse and ob for every weaned swine and goat in every plantation, to be levied by the constables of said plantation."

"It is furthered ordered that whosoever shall first give in his name to Mr. Governor that he will undertake to set up a ferry betwixt Boston and Charlestown and shall begin the same at such as Mr. Governor will appoint, that he shall have 1d for every person and 1d for every hundred weight of goods he shall transport." (Fee setting).

"Mr. Clark is prohibited...Frequent keeping company with Mrs. Freeman under pain of such punishment as the Court shall think to meet inflict...Mr. Clark shall make his personal appearance at the next General Court to be holden in March next and in the meantime to carry himself in good behaviour towards all people and especially towards Mrs. Freeman, concerning whom there is strong suspicion of incontinency.

"It is ordered that Rich Duffy, servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall shall be shipped for his misdemeanor towards his master."

"A jury impanelled for the tryall of Walter Palmer concerning the death of Austin Bratcher. (Jury named). The jury finds Walter Palmer not guilty of manslaughter...and so the Court acquits him."

—

745 LEGISLATORS IN 1812

From the small beginnings of the 1630's, Massachusetts Colony Government ran on for over 145 years until the Revolution re-directed forever the General Court.

Old Legislative records indicate 198 Representatives in 1780 along with 40 Senators. The Senate number has never changed, but the House from 1780 fluctuated in membership reaching in the early 1800's to as many as 594 in 1809, 644 in 1810 and on to 745 in 1812. It became almost a jungle.

In 1858, the House was reduced to 240 members where it remained for more than 115 years until 1974 when, by vote of the people, the House was reduced to its present 160 members.

—

TAXES HAVE BEEN AROUND FOR A LONG TIME

People have always had government of some kind. Ancient records tell of priests, chiefs, and kings who ruled the people. Long ago before the Greeks and Romans came on the scene, human beings were devising ways to tax other human beings, dating back more than 10,000 years before the birth of Christ.

The ancient governments and groups worshiped the gods they believed existed. They felt these gods controlled human destiny. The sun, the moon, and the stars---these they believed must have gods or be gods with human feelings, who wanted worship or gifts if they were to be kind.

They also believed in gods who changed the seasons, brought rain, disease, made the earth produce, and brought on, or kept off pain, disease and death. Some animals they believed were sacred; Gods took forms of these animals or were fond of them. The world of these people was confusing and fearful. Magic was a part of their everyday lives.

These persons who were said to know most about gods or spirits and who were thought to be able to use their knowledge to work magic, were set apart as priests. The early priests or medicine men, were leaders of the people, made the rules by which they lived and provided the government in some form for these ancient groups. The people made gifts to these priests: portions of the grain they grew, cattle, sheep, and other goods. The priests often had lands, workshops, and slaves. Temples were built in honor of various Gods, and to these the people brought gifts to keep the Gods good-natured.

When Kings came on the scene they had the aid of the priests, or they shared with the priests the rule of the people. Some Kings claimed descent from the Gods (the original public relations). Sometimes their influence was so great that in addition to being priests they also became Kings.

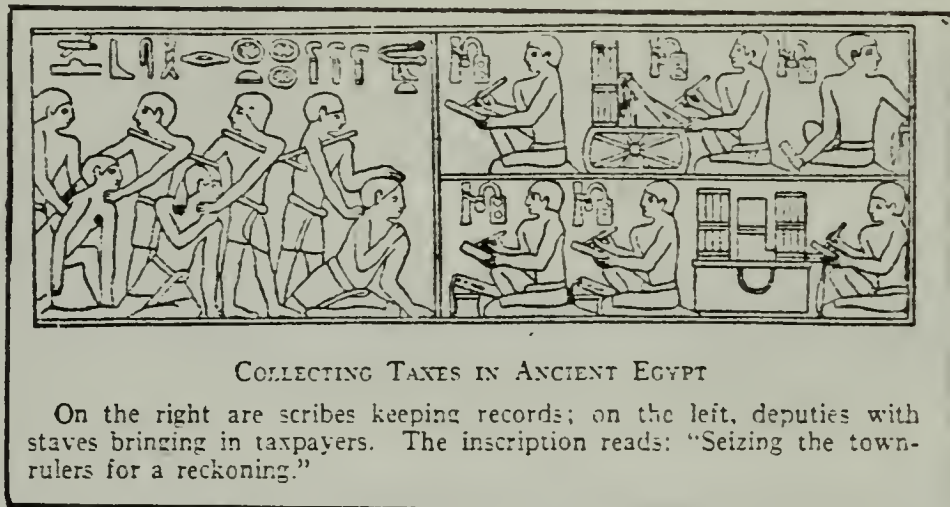
The Kings did well by grabbing much of the property taken from conquered people. They had broad lands and many slaves and collected tribute or payment in grain and oil and cattle from lesser chiefs under threat of heavy penalties. They demanded gifts from their own people also in return for protection.

So, for the support of priests and chiefs and kings, people gave up part of what they had or produced. Free-will offerings gradually became regular taxes as the years rolled by. Thus, taxation began thousands of years ago, perfected by each ruler, be he king, priest, emperor, dictator, and Democracy until today taxation blankets the world.

Perhaps the oldest tax record in existence is a rude picture of a grain basket with a number of strokes beside it. This picture was probably drawn on the mud-brick wall of a hut in a village by the Nile River in Egypt. The basket was a measure for grain; the number of marks shows the number of baskets of grain paid to the tax-gatherer.

Six or seven thousand years ago, even before the time of the Pharoahs people living in the Nile valley had chiefs. One might control the ditches that brought water from the river to the fields of several villages. The people had to pay him, every season, a share of the grain and flax they gathered from the fields. If they did not he would stop the flow of water for their crops. So they paid and the payments were marked on the walls of their crude huts.

When the Pharaohs came into power they further perfected tax-gathering. There was no way they could have accomplished their amazing construction projects, maintained a tremendous military force, and spread the power of the Pharaohs without a form of taxation. So a part of each man's produce was taken by the tax-gatherers for the government. Old records indicate that the Pharaohs did better than the IRS does today.



In every instance of any kind of a civilization---and its success ---there is the spector of the tax collector. In Mesopotamia, 4,700 years ago, inscriptions tell us that a governor-priest was put over all conquered people and they were required to provide for the King gold and silver, grain, cattle, fish, salt, and other commodities and provide men to work on the temples, palaces, and canals.

From ancient China has come the same story. The old-time Emperors taxed everything and everybody. Among their favorite taxes were those on agriculture, salt, and iron. These were necessities of life and henceforth good revenue producers.

Whereever there was government in the long-ago centuries before the birth of Christ there was taxation. In King Solomon's time the first cutting of grass was called "the king's mowings." The King could take a tithe or one tenth from the grainfields, vineyards, and flocks.

The Greeks and the Romans were quick to learn the art of taxation. They provided elaborate services for the people and needed money to carry out these services. In Athens the state would sell at auction to a rich person or group the right to collect taxes. The City would collect its money at once from the bidder. The bidder would then go after the people and often make a huge profit. The undertaking was called "tax farming."

The Roman empire was not in all ways so splendid as the stories relate. In spite of the Roman desire to work out a system of taxation the empire grew weaker as the condition of the common people grew worse. "Bread and Circuses" was their cry and they looked to the government for both. The government couldn't handle the situation and when it became rotten with corruption, it fell easy prey to the invasions of new peoples.

So, in one form or another, from the beginning of civilization to the present, taxes have been the bane of the people.

-M. Slade Kendrick
-Charles H. Seaver

LEGISLATIVE COMPENSATION

(A 350 YEAR-OLD ISSUE)

BY

SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER

When the Massachusetts Constitution was adopted a cynical Bostonian was asked what he thought of the document. "It's a great piece of work," responded the Bostonian, "but they spoiled it by including a provision to elect legislators."

That observation was pretty general and the people became further inflamed when it was suggested that legislators be paid for their services on Beacon Hill or in Congress.

Payment of lawmakers began in England as far back as 1320 when monarchs ordered the sheriffs of various shires and boroughs to pay out of their own pockets the agents selected to negotiate with the King about money needed from the counties.

In the early years of the colonies in America there was no leisure or wealthy class and payment was considered natural for those elected to legislative assemblies. In 1636 the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that the costs of deputies be borne by the towns that elected them. As far back as 1644 a movement for higher salaries was undertaken. A special order was passed asking the inhabitants to supply allowances to those sent to the General Court.

Even as long ago as 300 years there was criticism and vacillation among the electorate about legislative salaries and many towns refused to pay for the legislative activities of their own deputies, which was about 2 shillings and 6 pence a day, just above the poverty level of that period.

When the states framed their Constitutions the question of compensation was uppermost in the minds of the legislators. The feeling was that if men were going to give of their time to make laws and work for their constituencies they should receive reasonable compensation. Thomas Jefferson in the Virginia assembly filed a bill for compensation in 1778 and the bill failed. He tried again in 1783 with a plan that would pay members on the Assembly daily wages in gold and silver equal to the value of two bushels of wheat. He argued that some sort of a salary would give the poor and moderate as well as the rich the right to service in public office.

John Adams also believed public servants should be compensated. Adams believed every man had a right to compensation for his time and labor and to maintain dignity. He put his ideas into the Massachusetts Constitution specifying that Governors and Judges should have honorable salaries. He left out the legislators, except for mileage and traveling expenses. He assumed that the towns would pay for their own legislators.

At the first session of the General Court in 1780 it was voted that the Senators would receive 13 shillings 6 pence for each day they attended the session and the House 12 shillings a day and that payment be charged to the several towns agreeable to the Constitution. But it was not agreeable and the clause for payment was dropped the next year.

It took a long time for Massachusetts to rid itself of the notion that a representative should be paid by his constituent towns. It was not easy however to lift the burden from the towns to the Commonwealth. Massachusetts was not the only state wrestling with compensation for its legislators. In the early 1800's states began to pay their lawmakers ranging from \$1.00 a day in Rhode Island to \$16.00 a day in California where gold was cheap.

After 78 years of off-again, on-again pay schedules between the Commonwealth and the towns, the Democrats, controlling the General Court in 1858 boldly put through a compensation plan which would give each legislator \$300 a year to be paid from the State Treasury. The hue and cry was so great that the law was repealed the next year.

In Congress likewise in the early 1800's salary questions drew the ire of the electorate. In 1816 when Congress voted itself pay raises popular anger swept most of them out of office. Henry Clay, one of America's greatest politicians and who had voted for the pay raise was almost defeated by a one-armed opponent whose only campaign issue was that being one-armed he could get only one hand into the treasury.

The long struggle for legislative compensation continued in Massachusetts and during the Constitutional Convention of 1820 a move was made to provide legislative pay, but it went down to defeat.

By 1860 the Legislators had managed to pass a law to provide compensation and by 1864 they had a pay schedule locked in and when they tried to raise their pay to \$750.00 a year Governor Andrew vetoed the measure, the first of many governors to veto legislative pay bills.

Before the legislators knew it, by 1876 their pay was down to \$650 a year and by 1879 there was a further reduction to \$500 and a lot of empty seats in the House and Senate as many men were elected, but inasmuch as they could not subsist on that kind of a salary just simply did not show up.

Two forces worked against legislative pay raises, they being Gubernatorial vetoes and constituent wrath. From 1812 to the present time the General Court has voted 35 times on measures regarding legislative compensation. During that period six different governors vetoed the bills. On four occasions the General Court overrode the vetoes. Newspapers printed the roll-call records on pay bills and many lashed out at the General Court for "salary-grabbing." Over the years the General Court has had its share of scolding by the press and by the voters as well. On several occasions the "pay-raise" issue was placed on the ballot by initiative effort by groups of citizens and the pay raise overwhelmingly repealed.

Legislative compensation is an issue that has been with the General Court since 1636---and over these almost 350 years has been the one issue that can boil and roll the blood of the electorate.

When Former Representative Henry Luce wrote his book "Legislative Assemblies" many years ago he mentioned that when the issue is placed on the ballot the voters are unlikely to be generous and there is scarcely a record in America of the voters ever approving a legislative pay raise. So hell or high-water the General Court has taken the matter of compensation into its own hands as have other legislatures.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Massachusetts Constitution provides some remarkable rights and privileges for the people. It is the basis upon which the national constitution was framed.

When the first constitutional convention was called on September 1, 1779 in Cambridge at the Old Meeting House some 293 delegates presented their credentials.

It was now almost five years since Lexington and Concord. The war had dragged on and the colonists were in desperate straits. The people were loaded down with heavy war debts. Congress was bankrupt. Almost all business had been lost. Our French allies had not yet arrived. General Washington was at a standstill on the Hudson, begging for men, clothing and money. His fragmentary army was suffering from sickness and lack of supplies. The Tories were acquiring recruits and the enthusiasm of the patriots was at a low ebb.

Nevertheless, despite the dark condition of affairs some of the most eminent and courageous men of Massachusetts attended that first meeting. They included James Bowdoin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Samuel Otis, John Lowell, Increase Sumner, John Pickering, William Pickman, Henry Higginson, Theophilus Parsons, George Cabot, Levi Lincoln, Caleb Strong, William Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, Nathaniel Gorham and many others of political ability and distinction.

The charge to the convention was to draft a "Declaration of Rights and the Form of the Constitution." The overall committee delegated its duties to a subcommittee of three consisting of James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams and John Adams. The sub-committee then entrusted the task to John Adams, who was highly equipped as a lawyer and politician to perform the job of preparing a document.

The Adams draft of the Constitution was presented to the convention on October 28, 1779. This session lasted 15 days, much of which was given over to discussion by the delegates on the Declaration of Rights. Some alterations were made, but for the most part Adams' proposals were adopted. The members considered the substance and the phraseology of the proposed constitution with minute care and finally on March 2, 1780 recommended a method of ratification of the constitution by the people, which they did.

The remarkable spin-off of the constitutional convention was that many of those who participated became House and Senate members, Speakers of the House and Presidents of the Senate. In addition, Hancock, Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, Strong, Sullivan, Sumner and Lincoln became governors. Many others became members of the Judiciary, John Adams became President of the United States.

The Massachusetts Constitution stands as a type of the best workmanship and the highest scholarship. It embodies in its Declaration of Rights and fundamental principles of English liberty and the natural and inalienable rights of all free citizens. It adopts the principles of representative government, the separation of powers, gubernatorial veto and the ratification by the people of all amendments.

In these respects the Massachusetts constitution stands in the front rank of the documents which have shaped the course of history.

WHAT IS A STATE LEGISLATOR?

(By an Observer)

A State Legislator is a combination of many things. He (or she) generally speaking is a messenger boy or girl with a fancy title: (Senator or Representative). To look over the pink call slips on a legislator's desk one would quickly draw that conclusion for every conceivable favor of human conception is there before the legislator.

In addition, a legislator is an employment agency, bill filer, bill explainer, trouble-shooter, glad hand extender, settler of local controversies, labor lover, business protector, veterans' affairs adjuster, law explainer, wound healer, watchdog for the underdog, sympathizer for the upperdog, delegate stroker, servicemen's champion, adjustor for traffic violators, calmer or irate taxpayers, contributor to all causes, both foreign and domestic, good or bad; ribbon cutter par excellence, cornerstone layer, bridge and public buildings dedicator, store opener, settler of family quarrels, ticket getter for Red Sox, Bruins or Celtics, State House tour guide, ear lender for hard-luck stories.

More than that, he or she is a loaner of money to dead-broke colleagues, or constituents, binder of broken hearts, liberal, moderate or conservative cause pleader; speech giver (at the drop of a Spoon); housing finder, rest home locator, protector of animals, recoverer of lost baggage, blood giver, parade leader, hugger of elderly ladies or men, letter answerer (tons), free advice giver, expert on foreign and domestic affairs (the people think legislators should know everything); meetings goer (endless).

And too, he or she is an all-around sympathizer for the ills, misfortunes and desperations of constituents and booster for their glories and successes; handy man or woman, financial wet nurse, and generally speaking the court of last resort; the solver of lost causes and No. 1. Good Samaritan.

Beyond that they have no equal as flag wavers and are the world's leading presenters of House or Senate Citations to anyone, everyone and whatever on land, sea and in the air.

With all these obligations and many more it becomes harder and harder for state legislators to find time to properly study legislation and attend the daily sessions, debate the bills and carry out the very business they are elected to discharge---namely the business of placing laws upon the books.

Working on legislation is a fine and noble effort and many devote countless hours in this regard. However, over-extending oneself into the realm of legislation at the expense of the daily complaints and needs of the citizens, can lead to any early political grave, as many legislators have found out.

To remain on top in the difficult game of politics, a legislator must be tuned at all times to the ebb and flow of popular and individual desires and opinion. Much of what the General Court is all about comes down to "What have you done for us lately."



LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

THE CONSTITUTION

By House Speaker Leverett Saltonstall
(1930)

Life today is far more active and far more complex than it was three hundred years ago. Our ancestors had only their hands with which to work and their feet with which to travel. Their slower action allowed them more time in which to think and to be sure the steps they took were in the right direction. Thus, they had an opportunity to study the fundamentals upon which they built their superstructures; and, thus, carefully did they plan the foundation upon which they built their superstructure of lawmaking: The Constitution.

Many changes have come over the world since the Constitutional Convention convened in the Old Meeting House of the First Church in Cambridge on September 1st, 1779 and chose a committee to draft a Constitution. This committee chose John Adams, Samuel Adams and James Bowdoin to do their work.

It was because of the wisdom and foresight of John Adams and his fellow workers that the Constitution has endured. Those men thought not alone of their day and welfare when they framed their immortal document; they thought of the people of our time as well.

We cannot escape the feeling that somehow the spirit of Parsons, Cabot, Paine and others hover over us to share in the glory we call our own today. It is because of their genius, their brilliant analysis of the rights of the people and their unselfish devotion that we have lived in such peaceful security.

We can take pride in the fact that when the United States nine years later prepared to draw up its own Constitution, much of the background was framed on that instrument so carefully drafted in this Commonwealth. This model document was the work of unselfish patriots and of men who thought in terms of real statesmanship that looked only to the welfare of the whole people.

I suppose the two most important amendments to our Constitution are those which gave the people the right to vote regardless of property qualifications and the power of initiative and referendum. Under this amendment, the people retain the power to legislate or to refuse legislation. The will of the majority can never be defeated while this amendment remains part of the Constitution.

None of us would for a moment consider a new Constitution. We have too much regard for the work our ancestors did. The right of free petition we consider a sacred right. Proportional taxation we have always considered fundamental. The men who wrote our Constitution never forgot the real distinction between a Constitution and a statute. They appreciated the true relation of government to the individual. They set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution and the Declaration of Rights, principles of righteousness that are inspiring to us who can look back over the years since their time.

The lesson that we learn from the history of our State is the lesson of the obligation that we owe to those who follow us. We must take care that the men and women who guide our destinies can look back to us with as much appreciation and satisfaction as we do to the men who founded the government under which we live.

They have given us the power to make that government reflect the spirit of the time in which we live. Let us use that power that they have given us only after careful deliberation.

Let us remember that our Constitution is to serve not only us who are living now but those who are to live generations and generations into the future.

The problems that affect the welfare of our citizens are constantly changing. Let us study their needs and the remedies that are suggested for those needs wisely and carefully.

Let us proceed slowly in making new laws until we are convinced that new laws are needed and that the change suggested is the best possible change for the better.

But, above all, let us preserve our Constitution, the foundation upon which our laws all rest. Let us keep it the newest and yet be proud of the fact that it is the oldest Constitution in the world today.



"Be Brief...."

In 1915, Calvin Coolidge, later to become President of the United States, was unanimously elected President of the Massachusetts State Senate.

Following his election, Coolidge delivered the shortest acceptance speech in Legislative history. These are his remarks:

"Honorable Senators - my sincerest thanks, I offer you. Conserve the firm foundations of our institutions. Do your work with the spirit of a soldier in public service. Be loyal to the Commonwealth and to yourselves. And be brief; above all things, be brief."



THE OLD TOWN HOUSE, BOSTON

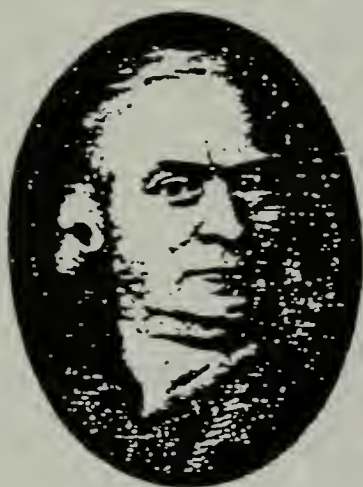
Located at the head of King (now State) Street, and occupied by officials of the Town of Boston, and by the General Court, from 1711 until the structure was burned, December 9, 1747



THE OLD STATE HOUSE AT THE HEAD OF STATE STREET

In this building, also used as a Town House by the Town of Boston, the General Court held its sessions from 1748 to 1798

The Five Signers
of the Declaration of Independence from
Massachusetts, all of whom served in the
General Court



SAMUEL ADAMS
House 1765-1774
Senate 1781-1784
Senate 1786-1787
President of Senate
1781-1784
1787



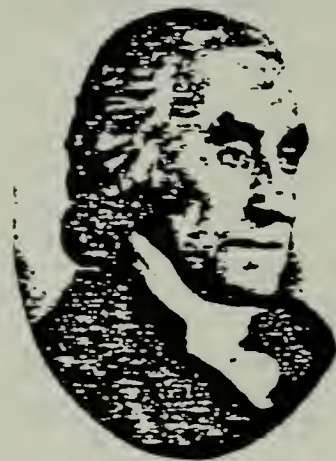
ELBRIDGE GERRY
House 1772-1773
House 1780



JOHN ADAMS
House 1768



JOHN HANCOCK
House 1766-1772

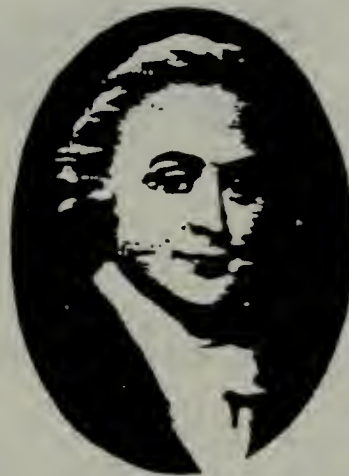


ROBERT TREAT PAINE
House 1773-1774
House 1777

The Three Presidents
of the United States from Massachusetts
all of whom served in the General Court



JOHN ADAMS
President 1797-1801
House 1768



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
President 1825-1829
Senate 1802



CALVIN COOLIDGE
President 1923-1929
House 1907-1908
Senate 1912-1915
President of Senate 1914-1915

The Historic Codfish



THE Historic Codfish, so called, hangs in the House of Representatives, and has been officially so located since March 17, 1784, when an order, offered by John Rowe of Boston was adopted authorizing its presence. The order read: "As a memorial of the importance of the Cod Fishery to the welfare of the Commonwealth as had been usual formerly."

It is probable that a similar codfish was destroyed when the old State or Town House was burned, December 9, 1747, and prior to that period had been hanging in the old Town House. The present codfish is suspended from wires, and hangs in the gallery of the House Chamber, directly opposite the Rostrum.

Budgets

No. 1 Issue



BY SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER

There is no particular record of the amounts of money appropriated since 1620 to maintain and sustain the old Massachusetts colonies and since 1780, the Commonwealth itself. Suffice it to say that the total expenditures over the past 360 years might well reach beyond \$82 billion dollars, discounting a shilling or a dollar here and there.

While Massachusetts government in these days of the 1960's is a mammoth business, reaching to almost \$10 billion dollars a year (including Federal grants and off-budget expenditures) the colonies started out in the long-ago 1630's with meager resources.

For one thing the early colonists did not have much money and by today's standards most of them would be far below the poverty line. In today's scheme of things they might be subject to a tidal wave of pity and a Federal investigation based on poverty.

Money was scarce so the colonists bartered back and forth with cattle, corn, flax, animals of one sort or another, lumber, iron or whatever. Big government was beyond their imagination and even as citizens of today they strongly disliked taxes of any kind.

Life in the 1600's was hard and unyielding. Life expectancy was limited (probably averaging 40 years of age). Death and disease were constant visitors to those who tried to scratch a living from Massachusetts' rocky soil. There were no government programs to help.

Heavy Appropriations for Military Service

There was always the threat of Indian attack and most of the early appropriations by the General Court were for support of the military. Not much, except salaries for the governor, magistrates, clerks, legislators and other necessities of government was included in appropriation bills.

There was little concern for a public highway system. Most roads followed old-time Indian paths---the line of least resistance. They were quagmires in the spring, dusty and rut-covered in the summer and burdened with ice and snow in the

winter---and the government could care less. Let the towns worry about the roads. Scarcely any kind of an appropriation was ever made for highways. Occasionally, the Legislature permitted local communities to hold lotteries to rebuild or construct bridges.

There is an old story that has come down through the centuries of a man walking a country road and noting a hat floating in a mud puddle. He took a stick and poked the hat aside to reveal a man under it up to his neck in mud. "Say, mister," said the local man, "you're in pretty deep, ain't you?" "Deeper than you think," was the response from the mud hole. "I'm standing on top of the stage coach."

Public and Mental Health programs were non-existent as were educational expenditures. Very often the poor were driven out of town as were those who were of opposite religious beliefs. There was the period of the witch hunts and the hangings ordered by the General Court. Legislators were tough hombres and mostly controlled by the ministry.

Friction between the House and the Council (now the Senate) was very great and they fought like cats and dogs over appropriation bills.

Humanitarianism was not a legislative priority and early appropriation figures failed to demonstrate concerns for the plight of the weak, the halt, the blind and the indigent. It was over 200 years after the landing of the Pilgrims that sincere efforts were made to appropriate tax money for public school education on the heroic efforts of Senator Horace Mann.

Legislators Often Fought Royal Governors

While the House and the Council opposed each other bitterly, they had a common enemy in the King-appointed Governor. So hostile were the colonists to the various royal governors that they often decreased their salaries and at other times made no grants at all for the personal comfort of the royal governor. It was the club the legislators used to prevent the governor from exercising his veto power over money bills and favorite legislation by certain legislators.

More than one governor complained bitterly to the home government in London that the Legislature was unruly and was running rampant. The power to approve or deny the governor's salary was often postponed to the last day of the session.

The friction between the royal governors and the Legislature lasted for more than 80 years from the late 1600's to 1775 with one governor complaining that the Legislature was playing politics with military garrisons, military supplies and individual officers.

In fact, in 1721, the House refused to proceed to the passage of certain money bills until the governor notified them he had approved the acts, resolves and elections of the session. The press referred to the Legislators as "highwaymen."

Royal Governor Jonathan Belcher in a letter to England dated December 26, 1732 stated: "All the struggle is for power. If every account of the Province must be subjected to the House of Representatives the King's governor will be of no significance. They that have control of the money will certainly have the power and I take the single question on this head to be whether the King shall appoint his own governor or whether the House of Representatives shall be governor of the Province."

Appropriation bills, such as they were gave the Legislature the right to spend as well as the right to collect. The revenues were raised by grants of direct and indirect taxes, "For the Defense of His Majesties Subjects and Interests." The revenue measures of a year were three to six in number. They had no relation to each other, and no attempt was made to consider the financial problem as a whole and to plan accordingly.

In 1773, the expenditures of the government came through in a single bill: "An Act for Supplying the Treasury with the Sum of Seventy-Six Thousand Five Hundred Pounds." Most of this amount went to fixing the salaries of the soldiers of the province, pay for councillors and for representatives, wages of sundry persons, discharging of public debt, etc.

Always Hometown Pressure Against Taxes

Even in those ancient years legislators were well aware of the hometown pressures against taxes which came down heavily on property and polls---which placed a tax on every male over 16 years of age.

When the War for Independence broke across the colonies, the battle cry was "Taxation Without Representation is Tyranny." The colonists contended they could no longer stand for such measures as taxes upon their beloved tea and other onerous impositions by the mother country. They objected to a King-appointed governor and his veto power and that all laws had to be sent to England for further approval.

When the British had enough they chased the Massachusetts Legislature out of town---dissolving it in the process. This did not halt the efforts for independence and war broke out. A Massachusetts Constitution was adopted in 1780 and the Commonwealth was back in business under a new set of Constitutional edicts.

When John Adams wrote the Massachusetts Constitution, he made certain that a provision would provide a salary for the Governor, so he would not have to contend with the games played by legislators with British-appointed governors, they often held up their salaries until the Legislature got what it wanted.

Adams also noted the acrimony between the House and the Council (now the Senate) which had gone on for years, much of which related to appropriation and tax measures. In the new Constitution, Adams wrote a provision that---"All money bills shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the

Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills."---a phrase which later found its way into the Federal Constitution.

The sections of the new Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 affecting financial matters were copied by Adams almost word for word from the William and Mary Charter of 1691.

During the Revolution, all orderly finance disappeared. Everything was disorganized, and whatever was appropriated was mostly directed to the war effort.

Revolution Created Huge Debt

In the first session of the General Court after the adoption of the new Constitution in 1780 there were eight acts and 157 resolves of a financial nature. In debt to the tune of more than 4 million dollars because of the war, the Commonwealth needed money and all legislative efforts were put into providing funds for the treasury, payoff the debt and continue to support the military.

The first so-called state "budget" adopted by the House and Senate asked for 939,075 pounds, much of which was for military support, discharging part of the debt, the purchase of 13,000 bushels of salt, 2000 barrels of pork and 74,500 gallons of rum, etc.

The General Court supported its "budget" with a measure to raise the money. The next page has the summary table from the expenditure and tax requests for 1780.

For the next 140 years following the adoption of the Constitution appropriations, finances, taxes, expenditures, etc., were handled both by acts and resolves. These were scattered along through the sessions, with a marked tendency being to crowd them through on the last day of the session. Lump-sum appropriations were the rule. A reform effort was made to safeguard money bills by requiring that "No grant of money shall be made to any civil officers of the government or the officers of Harvard College without a time being assigned therefor." Another rule stated "No bill shall pass to be engrossed and no grant of money shall be made on Saturday or Monday" and "No resolution shall pass for a grant of money without being read on two several days." (These were obvious attempts to control the "sneaking" of spending bills through during low-House attendance.)

In order to try and control the expenditure problem, the Legislature in 1849 created the position of auditor. He was required to keep a record of all expenditures and submit estimates. Ten years later the Legislature relieved the auditor of these responsibilities and passed a law requiring every public officer or board to submit to the House Speaker a detailed estimate of the sums needed for the current year.

This unsatisfactory system was rejected in 1872 and the secretary of state was ordered to receive the estimates.

Summary Table from the Budget of 1780.

The sums necessary for the services of the current year (exclusive of raising the men and the supply of beef, respectively assessed upon the towns) are as follows:

For shirts, shoes and stockings for the Massachusetts line	£20,200
To pay for clothing from Europe, already purchased, and charges	6,000
To import clothing from ditto	20,000
To pay for officers clothing, now due to them	12,000
To discharge part of the principal of the public debt	50,000
To purchase small stores for the army	11,000
Money required by Congress for payment of the troops, etc.	86,000
Ditto, to discharge Quarter-Master's certificates	64,000
To discharge interest on the depreciation notes, and such of them as become due in a few days	95,000
To pay interest on the securities of government	118,000
For the support of civil government	30,000
For the Commissary-General's office	30,000
For the supplies of forts and garrisons	40,000
To discharge the debts due from the late Board of War	12,500
To pay interest on hard money notes	6,000
To procure 13,000 bushels of salt	9,750
Ditto — 74,500 gallons of rum	18,625
For redeeming one-seventh part of the new money	66,000
To procure 2000 barrels of pork	16,000
To pay for transportation of rum, salt and pork	16,000
Money for sundry charges of the war, not enumerated	<u>212,000</u>
(in specie)	£939,075

Amounting in the whole to *nine hundred and thirty-nine thousand and seventy-five pounds*, in specie. The means for payment of which, as we conceive, may best be obtained in the following manner

By loan on the supply bill	£400,000
The silver money tax now collecting	72,000
The surplus of beef, appropriated to the supply of pork	16,000
By the shoes, stockings, etc., proportionably levied on the several towns	20,200
By the sale of confiscated estates	40,000
By excise on articles of consumption	50,375
By a tax on polls and estates	300,000
By a lottery for the purchase of clothing	<u>20,000</u>
(in specie)	£939,075

(Continued....)

Everybody in Charge - Nobody Responsible

The entire budget and financial structure was a see-saw for decades. It was an Alphonse and Gaston act. Everybody wanted to be in charge but nobody wanted the responsibility. Every Legislative Tom, Dick and Harry had his favorite resolve for spending money. There was no accountability. In 1879, eight appropriations were made by resolve alone. Attempts to systematize the budget procedure disintegrated. In 1896, there were ninety-nine appropriation bills. Confusion reigned.

From 1910 to 1918, events moved rapidly in the financial history of the state. Speaker Walker, backed by Governor Draper, secured the enactment of a law which drew the Governor into the budgetary process. It was a revolutionary step and Speaker Walker declared, "My bill has placed the responsibility where it belongs---on the Governor---. He must exercise control. He cannot evade responsibility."

In 1915, there were 136 separate appropriation acts; in 1917, there were 116. Each of these bills had to be considered separately, enacted separately and signed by the Governor separately. The large number of appropriation bills made it impossible for anyone, even an expert, to ascertain what had been appropriated for any one department and for any given service.

Legislature Fights to Establish Budget

By 1917 the Legislature had enough of scatter-shot appropriations and a special recess commission was established to study finances and budget procedure. The matter of budgets was also an upcoming proposal in the 1918 Constitutional Convention. Senator James W. Bean of Cambridge was named Senate Chairman and Representative Joseph E. Warner of Taunton was named House Chairman of the Recess Commission.

Part II of their report indicated the state was spending more than \$32,000,000. It was a vast expenditure and with no plan formulated in advance and no reliable estimates of the state tax, everything was in the dark. They recommended a stable budget procedure involving the Governor and the Legislature as equal partners. The constitutional Convention, after long and acrimonious debate, approved a similar proposal. The people voted it through by a margin of 155,738 to 81,303.

And so, after almost 300 years of slipshod budgeteering, heavy politics, stubbornness, game-playing, pork-barrelling and whatnot between the two branches and the Governor, Massachusetts in 1918 embarked on a system of planning the financing of the state government for the current fiscal year. Credit for advancing the Commonwealth's budget procedure by his tremendous ability was given to Representative B. Loring Young, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Naturally, with such a great change in the financial structure of the Commonwealth, it took a few years for the

system to work out and much credit was given to high-minded House and Senate members who fought against the "old politics" of who gets what, when, where and how.

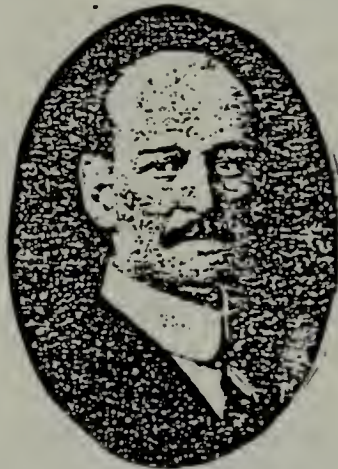
For 67 years now Massachusetts has had a budget system based on the statutes and the vote of the people in 1918.

Budget Became Highly-Disciplined Document

In the early years, the budget developed into a highly-disciplined presentation from the House Ways and Means Committee to the House floor. The 1918 budget contained 515 numbered items grouped by spending units. The Governor's budget had called for \$35,730,934.45. The Ways and Means Committee reduced this budget by approximately \$1,000,000. However, when finally approved after a few Senate amendments and a Conference Committee, the Governor signed the budget at \$35,060,375.47.



WARNER, JOSEPH E., Taunton.



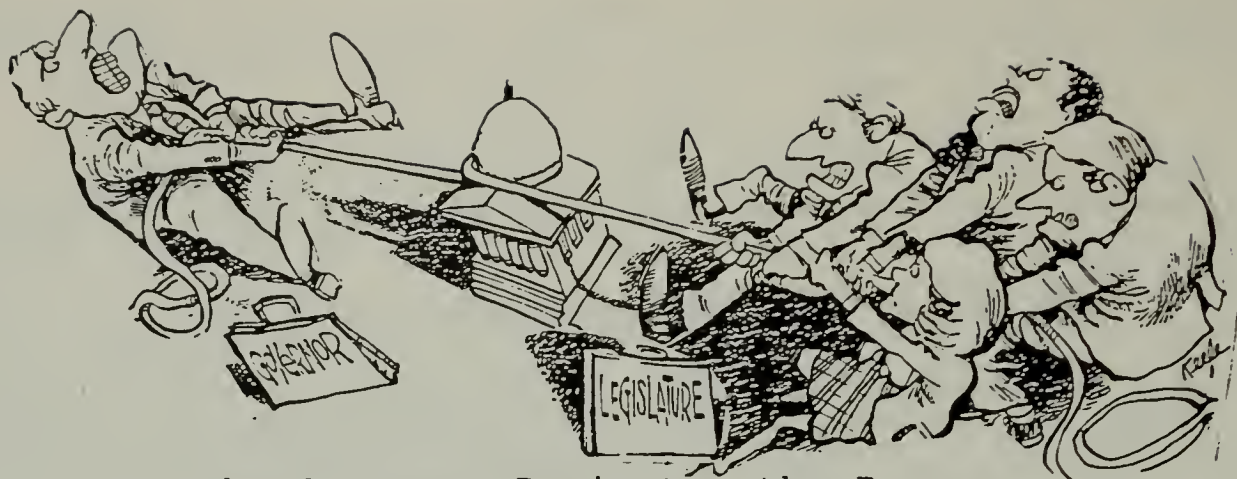
BEAN, JAMES W., 2d Middlesex.



YOUNG, BENJAMIN LORING, 13th Middlesex.

Even though Massachusetts had undertaken a budget system, in 1919 there was no decrease in the number of so-called "pork-barrel bills" at least in the first year or two. Representative Young lashed out at these measures condemning fellow legislators for their attempts to "obtain entrance to the public treasury by the back door" instead of entering the open door of the budget." Young's charges stuck and in a couple of years private petitions were nil and Young boasted that every single dollar appropriated was based on the Governor's messages and budget. Representative Young and his colleagues on Ways and Means had demonstrated incredible leadership in turning the budget process from a slap-dash arrangement to a situation where the recommendations of the Ways and Means Committee were followed with hardly a change by the House and Senate.

That the powerful effort to establish a budget system in Massachusetts was worthwhile was indicated in the 1920's when the House and Senate Ways and Means Committees sat together during hearings on departmental requests. They effectively killed off log-rolling and the passage of private appropriations for projects of no particular advantage to the state as a whole. The committees involved a permanent staff agency for the gathering of data and the sifting of estimates. Everyone was aware that the new budget provisions of the Constitution and the law were intended to make the Governor responsible for the budget and require him to assume the financial leadership of the Commonwealth by presenting his estimates to the House.



The Governor Dominates the Process

The Governor was deemed to be in the best position to assess the spending requests of the agencies he controlled and to formulate a general plan for the whole administration of government.

Responsibility was focused on the Chief Executive who submitted a "yearly plan" of government early in each legislative session. In years before, rampant inflation played havoc with public financing and complicated budget-making, one year's appropriation bill naturally served as a benchmark by which to judge future appropriation requests. The new reforms held the Governor accountable to budget measures passed previously and any derivation from spending requests from year to year would have to be publicly justified.

Accountability was made even more precise by a system of item budgeting. Departmental expenditures were broken down into blocs of smaller appropriations which could be tracked at a glance, again on a year to year basis. A later innovation, subsidiary accounts within all these agencies' line-items, was but an extension of a principle of budget-making adopted earlier in the century.

The Line-Item Veto

The design of the new budget process bespoke the efforts of reformers to bring responsibility, restraint and coherence into a method of public financing that had previously been dominated by pork-barrel politics. Their concern led them to propose the gubernatorial "item-veto." This allowed the Chief Executive to nullify (with 1/3 approval in both legislative branches) individual items within the budget without jeopardizing the rest of the spending plan.

Such authority is now being sought on the federal level where executive vetoes attach only to whole appropriation bills and cannot be targeted to individual spending provisions. It is being resisted by Congress as threatening to tip the balance of power in favor of the executive branch. But the General Court in Constitutional Convention (1917) thought otherwise. The item veto furthered their goal of concentrating responsibility in the Chief Executive who was now given a last word in the budget process as a complement to his authority to originate and frame a general spending plan.

The fractionalized character of our legislative bodies, they reasoned, makes them subject to parochial concerns that could not but generate spending pressures while disbursing responsibility. The executive "line-item-veto" allowed for the restoration of restraint and coherence to budget-making by holding the chief Executive accountable for weeding out individual spending decisions that were politically motivated and fiscally unwarranted. The step the General Court took in 1917 demonstrates the compelling concerns of Massachusetts statesmen in finding procedural guarantees for restraint, even to the point of diminishing long held legislative prerogatives.

The early budget process was oriented by the overriding concern for fiscal restraint and responsibility. The unstated premise behind the new procedures held to the conviction that dominated the thought of the times. It was believed that a limited government was the best guarantee of freedom and left the greatest scope to the private enterprise that generated personal wealth and added to the general stock of the Commonwealth's collective well-being.

In subsequent decades, the budget procedure became more routinized and the tone of discipline and frugality, set early on by the example of enlightened leadership, continued to prevail. For nearly fifty years, the passage of the State Budget followed the designs of a well defined process that sought to guard against abuses in dealing with what is yearly "the number one issue" facing the Legislature.

The Outline of the Process

The budget process built upon the system of checks and balances that defines the general operation of government in a manner that progressively increased the scope for discipline and prudence in spending decisions.

In such a scheme, the Governor operates under the Constitutional constraint of presenting a balanced budget, that is, one where revenues are sufficient to cover appropriations. Looking to a general plan of government, the necessity of discipline made itself felt on the Governor in "checking" the spending requests of individual agencies which zealously fought for funding in the areas of their particular responsibility. The interest and duties of such agencies assured that the case for spending would be vigorously made. The broader responsibility of the Chief Executive and his budget advisors assured that competing requests would be considered and balanced within the operative fiscal restraints.

From the Governor, the spending plan went to the House and was, under the rules, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. Its major function was to serve as a check on the requests of the Governor in proposing amendments to the general budget plan. The extraordinary power granted to this Committee helped preserve the budget measure from the spending pressures that would arise on the floor. This further assured

the survival of the integrity of an over-all plan, presumably perfected by the considered judgment of Ways and Means as well as the few amendments that would survive floor debate.

The whole process was repeated in the Senate, which served as a check on the actions of the other chamber by amending and perfecting the House version. Differences between the two branches, which were more often than not minor in nature, were finally settled by a Committee on Conference, led by the respective chairperson of Ways and Means.

The Character of the Ways and Means Committees Then

It was not the function of Ways and Means to second guess spending decisions of the Governor at every turn. Expertise in the day to day needs of running agencies fell naturally to the Executive branch in any case. The role of such committees was to provide a disciplined "check" internal to the branches of the Legislature and to aid in making the "checks" among the branches of government effective. The design of the budget process naturally brought to the Chairmanships of Ways and Means individuals of personal rectitude and a disciplined and frugal character.

Many Ways and Means chairmen had a toughness that did the job for the people but seriously affected their political futures. In order to hold the budget in line they never refused to say "no" to hundreds of spending requests.

Through its many steps, the budget process operated, as intended, largely as a "winnowing" that perfected a yearly spending plan for government. Budget controversy was minimized by such a disciplined process. As a measure of the consensus and discipline that prevailed, roll-call votes on the floor of either chamber were relatively infrequent. The budget itself often passed by voice at the various stages of the legislative process.

In 1935, for example, there were three roll-calls on floor amendments in the House and 10 in the Senate. Both branches passed the budget on voice vote to third reading, engrossment and enactment.

In 1945, there were five roll-calls on floor amendments in the House and two in the Senate, one being procedural. In 1957, the budget was adopted in the Senate without any roll-calls or amendments.

The contrasts with today is startling. This year in the House on second reading alone there were 88 roll-calls with an additional 15 reconsiderations and 21 recorded quorum calls. This took place over seven days of debate when 121 amendments were proposed. At third reading there were more than 50 more roll-calls over three more days of debate.

The Erosion of the Budget Process

The essentials of the budget process stayed intact for more than four decades well into the 1960's. By the end of the 1970's, however, the "spirit" that animated budget reform had so eroded that only the mere formal outlines of the original budget procedure survived. In many ways, the abuses earlier in the century that inspired budget reform in the first place returned. Discipline and control, united by common purpose, has so dissipated that now each legislative session is menaced by a budget crisis and the effectual halting of government along with essential services.

It has now become commonplace that the Commonwealth enacts budgets after the start of the new fiscal year on July 1. Since 1975, only three budgets have been passed in a timely fashion. Such action has provoked strikes by government workers whose paychecks were held up until passage of an appropriations bill. In 1982, walkouts from state hospitals and water treatment plants threatened the health and well being of populations most at risk as well as the general public. Welfare mothers without the wherewithal to feed families stormed the State House. As a consequence, the negative image of government as wasteful, ineffective and crisis-prone is reinforced.

The breakdown of discipline in the budget process can be roughly gauged by the record number of floor amendments proposed to the budget document. The following table indicates that the astonishing proliferation of such motions is confined to the most recent years.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Floor Amendments</u>	
	<u>House</u>	<u>Senate</u>
1924	7	1
1930	2	2
1939	38	32
1960	20	21
1970	40	42
1977	161	117
1983	235	197
1984	411	304
1985	298	207

Budget Turning Point in 1973

The budget process took an 180 degree turn in 1973. That year, the Senate Ways and Means Committee wrote a new budget proposal, incorporating all recommended committee amendments as a separate bill. Such a step was justified as a matter of convenience, wholly within the amending powers of the Ways and Means Committee. It has become standard practice since 1977 but with profound consequences that have totally altered the designs of the original architects of our budget process.

The Senate Ways and Means' "amended" version has now come to be understood as an alternative to the Governor's proposal and the House-passed version. The unity of purpose that animated the former budget process and perfected, step by step, a coherent plan of state spending has formally ended.

We now have House 1, the Governor's request, a House Ways and Means budget recommendation, the House-passed version, Senate Ways and Means budget recommendations, the Senate passed version - all of which present themselves as integral pieces of legislation. Moreover, it is now not uncommon to find the Governor submitting a revised House 1, updating priorities from January in tune with new and more up to date fiscal realities. To add to the list, House Republicans bring forth their own "Better Budget," with interests group advocates adding their own budget versions, whether it be a "Poor People's Budget" or a tax group's budget. The carefully crafted 60 year budget process is dissolving.

The Character of the Ways and Means Committees Now

While the budget process of 1917 clearly sought to augment the authority of the Executive branch in the legislating of budgets, the trend of recent years has moved in a contrary direction. We now find the Legislature, through its committees on Ways and Means, using its budget authority in ways that encroach upon functions formerly understood to be properly placed in the Governor's hands.

The two finance committees have been richly endowed with both personnel and technology to undertake a role that more and more resembles that of the Commissioner of Administration and Finance in fashioning their own budgets independently. The role of "watchdog" is now secondary.

Distinctions between the Executive and the Legislature have begun to blur. Like the commissioner of Administration and Finance, the Chairmen of both Ways and Means Committees make their own revenue estimates, an admittedly imprecise "science" that shapes the limits of legitimate spending. To form such estimates, they may turn to their own resources available to them in committee or to outside sources. The existence of multiple sources of "expert" opinion lends considerable elasticity to decisions on revenue that can be arbitrarily applied to whatever spending level is desired.

At the same time, it adds considerably to the controversy which mires the budget process, as it now exists.

Incredibly enough, through sign-offs on agency spending during the course of a given fiscal year, and detailed reporting requirements to the respective Chairpersons of Ways and Means before the release of funds, outright legislative control of major executive functions and whole departments has been effected. This had happened scarcely without notice or protest. However, much to her credit, Senator Patricia McGovern, new Chairperson of Senate Ways and Means, is now expressing concern over the extent of such a practice and House Chairman Richard Voke is demonstrating his concerns for an accelerated budget process.

"Checks and balances" continue to operate within the budget system but under radically new conditions that are without the overriding unity of purpose that mediates and defines a true process. By force of circumstance and design, the already significant powers of the Chairpersons of Ways and Means have been tremendously augmented. This had increased the possibility of stalemate between the Governor and the Legislature and between the branches of the General Court.

In the breakdown of the budget process, the conference committee becomes a powerhouse. The inevitably partisan and personal disputes are resolved behind the scenes, where the real substance of hard-bargaining takes place.

The recent past has witnessed a further abuse of the budget process in the growth of "outside sections," a practice which effectually changes the General Laws of the Commonwealth through the budget document. The necessity of passing a budget makes it an inviting vehicle to attach a whole string of legislation that might not survive the ordinary legislative process.

A "gridlocked" Legislature is avoided on some of the more controversial issues of the day but so is the scrutiny of public hearings and the complex procedural guarantees that apply to the passage of individual petitions.

The proliferation of outside sections is documented in the following table.

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Outside Sections</u>
1925	5
1935	6
1945	9
1955	8
1961	19
1964	18
1970	22
1973	23
1975	27
1976	97
1978	74
1979	104
1980	134

The power it afforded the Chairmen of Ways and Means who propose such "outside sections" to their respective budget is awesome. The Committee's encroachment on executive authority was matched by a usurpation of prerogatives that rightfully belong to the general Legislature under well-defined rules. Since F.Y. 1982, the practice of changing General Laws through outside sections has been outlawed and curtailed.

The breakdown of the budget process over the last decade and a half was in large part a product of forces that had been a long time gathering and are larger than the General Court. It coincides with a distinct period in American history that began in the 1960's.

In those heady years, the imperative of fiscal discipline lost its grip. These were optimistic times of unprecedented growth when the key to the "wealth of nations" was thought at last to be held by effective government management of the economy through fiscal and monetary controls.

Buoyed by great confidence and general prosperity, a new and more vigorous role for government was declared in a "war to eradicate poverty". A frugal and disciplined government which operated during the greatest economic expansion ever experienced by any nation, was now declared to be a drag on prosperity and an impediment to "humane" control of the economy directed to the full realization of social justice. The disappearance of frugality and discipline came hand and glove with an expanded agenda of social action. This was the legacy which changed the political landscape everywhere and is the largest picture within which the breakdown of the budget process must be viewed.

Since the 1960's, the cost of government has increased 1000% from under \$1 billion to \$10 billion today. The role of government within society grew apace as the public sector was charged with solving a wholly new complex set of problems. The era of rugged individualism had passed and was replaced by the technocrat and social engineering.

With the barriers to political participation removed, interest groups organized behind such new government concerns. The lessons of effective organization learned in the 1960's were adopted by the most disparate groups which found in affected bureaucrats and elected officials strong allies for their causes. A vested interest in government programs, regardless of proven utility, was the vestige of some of the more visionary programs of the day and added to spending pressures that accelerated along with the inflation it helped generate. The 1970's had proved that the problems of wealth and poverty were more intractable than though as optimism turned to pessimism and bitter disillusionment.

Ideological Divisions

The growth of the Massachusetts budget makes of government policy, willy-nilly, an important part of the economy. But the future direction of that policy is now a matter of

partisan controversy, dividing not only Republicans from Democrats but Democrats and Republicans from themselves. One-party rule that characterizes this state has not brought ideological unity.

We are divided between those who would return government to discipline and limits, as the only proven recipe of prosperity and those who have not lost faith in the leading role that government can play, not only socially but economically. These advocates of a new industrial policy join the new conservatives in repudiating the era of the Great Society as the politics of "old," the principles of which, nevertheless, continue to claim many partisans.

To the new advocates of government activism, the failures of the recent past do not point to a return to limited government but to a new set of policy options designed to help adapt the Commonwealth to the dictates of a changing world economy.

It is in the budget debate that such different views of the public good makes themselves most acutely felt. Growing ranks of deeply divided partisans complicate the votes on the more substantive issues of the day - whether tax limitation measures or infrastructure repair - as well as to issues that symbolically address the principles of opposed ideologies.

The hold of interest groups that were spawned with the politics of the most recent past have not abated. With the national economic recovery, spending pressures have been renewed with increasing vehemence. Narrow interest groups are joined by grassroots citizen's groups whose "taxpayer" concerns have arisen in opposition to "the politics of old". Where consensus and a clear and limited government agenda made possible a budget process, now all line items, either through ideology of political influence, are potential matters of controversy and targets of amendments.

Recent Conduct

The utter breakdown of the budget process is evidenced by the most recent conduct of the House and Senate, both of which have moved, due to internal forces in each branch, in contrary directions. In the House, the Fiscal Year 1985 budget was debated for 18 days which amounted to a total of 163 hours and five minutes. During that time, a total of 411 floor amendments were proposed, 270 of which were accepted. Observers note the role of television and rules reform, as well as the internal divisions brought on by the Speaker's fight, in contributing to the chaos.

The Senate provides a different spectacle. To control an incredible flood of amendments, budget debate has been conducted in one continuous sitting, a torture test that defies rationality. Around-the-clock budget debate, which first began in 1977, has become entrenched practice and is an outgrowth of efforts to control some of the forces of special interest which have free rein in the House.

"Bundling" New Procedure on Amendments

Spending pressures that would mount to reverse unpopular but necessary votes are cut short as opposition has no time to muster. In the last two years, weary Senators have acquiesced in "bundling" all amendments from the floor, the acceptance or rejection of which, as a package, lies at the sole discretion of the Chairperson of Ways & Means. This effectively ends the "endurance test" but without even the pretense of procedure or even the formality of debate.

The process of "bundling" - which certainly must have left old-time Senator James Bean who worked on the 1918 budget process rolling in his grave - gave a quick "yes" or "no" on the recommendation of the Senate Ways and Means Chairperson. That settled, the budget sailed through engrossment, but not without leaving 102 pages of a 200 page budget without debate or explanation.

A rules change in 1985 dictated that budget debate would start in the Senate at 10 A.M. and no other matter would be discussed. This was in an attempt to save time. It did not work, however, and before the session had adjourned the Senate had worked for 21½ straight hours until 8:38 A.M. on June 11, 1985.

297 Senate Floor Amendments

During the tedious long-night session, 297 floor amendments were offered with 126 amendments approved - many of them as a result of the "bundling" process.

The House-Senate Conference Committee which in past years dealt with a handful of amendment differences has been compelled in recent years to cope with an avalanche of floor amendments effecting nearly half the budget items which places great power in this six-member House-Senate committee and strain on the membership to understand what is happening. It becomes a "bargaining chip" game.

Is Another Blue Ribbon Budget Commission Needed?

It is well known that the budget process is often beyond the understanding of many House and Senate members. Its vast size - the limited time to study the more than 1,000 line items and a run against time combine to make the budget a complicated, voluminous document which only a few individual legislators truly understand.

The Legislature stands now at a critical point. The awesomeness of the budget process, graphically illustrated by the state of affairs that exists in the General Court, calls for greater scrutiny in an effort to bring a measure of rationality to the public financing that so crucially shapes the character of the Commonwealth.

Perhaps it is time for another Blue Ribbon Committee or Commission to look into the budget process which seems to be falling back to the pre-1917 days of everybody taking care of his own concerns with floor amendments and letting someone else worry about the total picture.

The Saturday Evening

POST

January 17, 1959 - 15¢

I Call on Danny Thomas

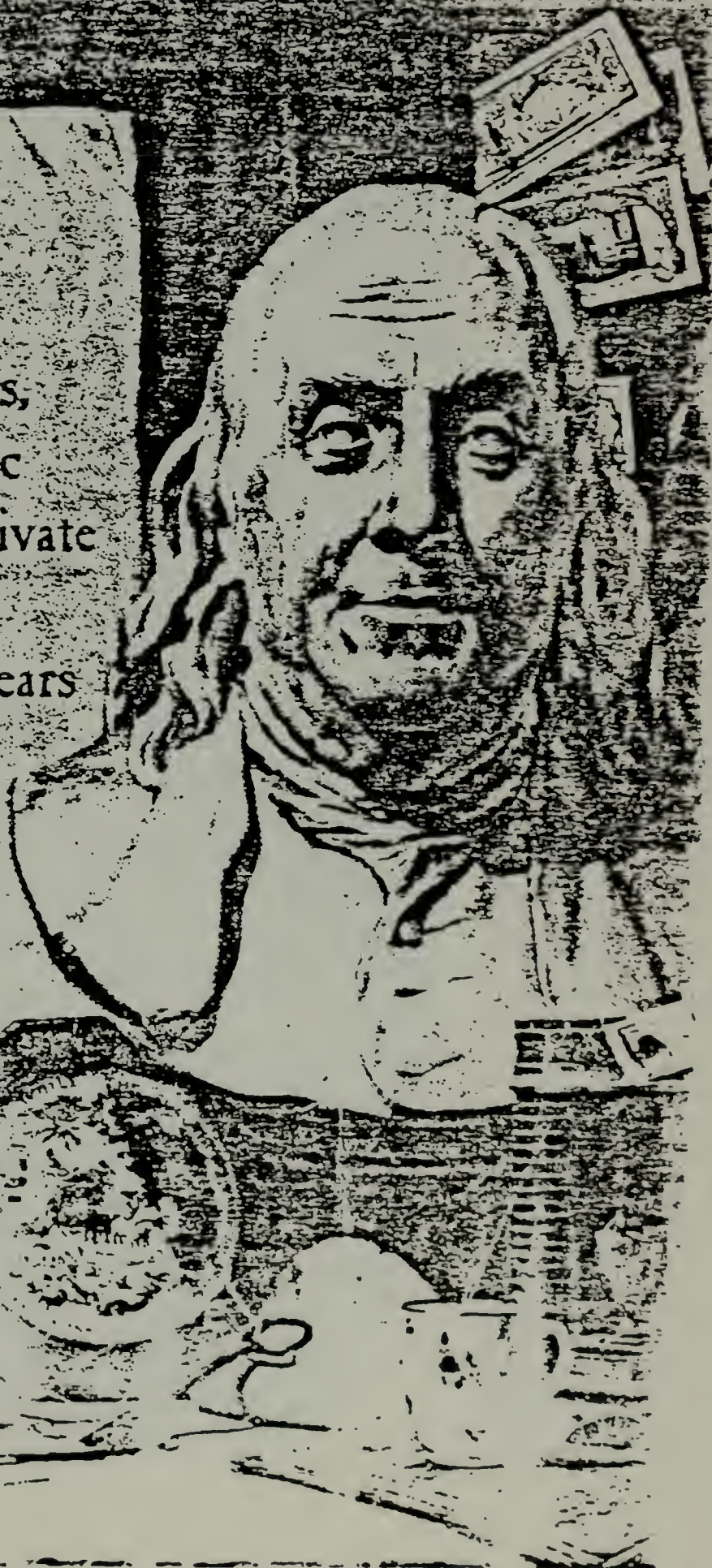
By PETE MARTIN

THE JESUITS

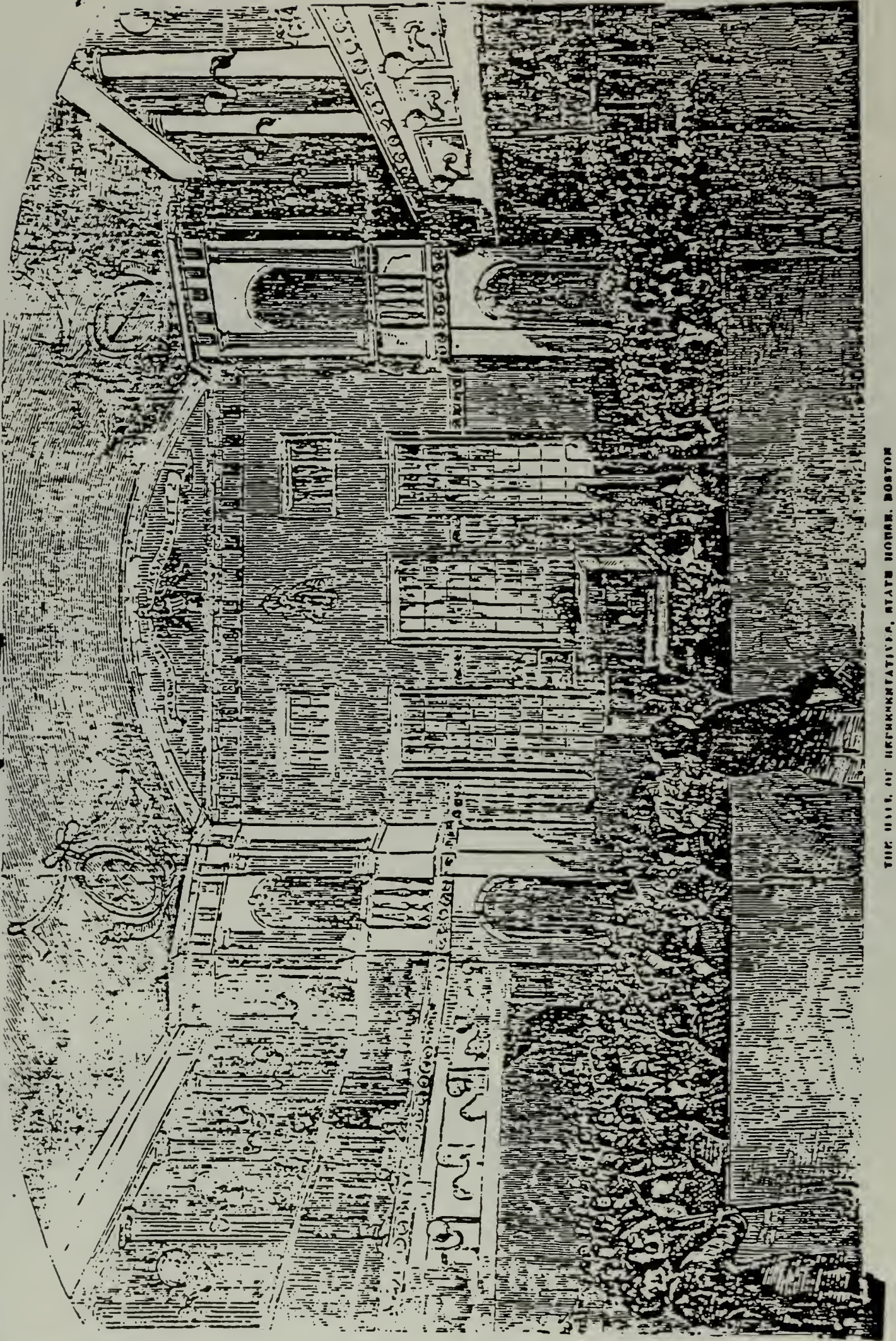
By ERNEST O. HAUSER

My rule, in which I have
always found satisfaction, is,
never to turn aside in public
affairs through views of private
interest; but to go straight
forward in doing what appears
to me right at the time,
leaving the consequences
with Providence.

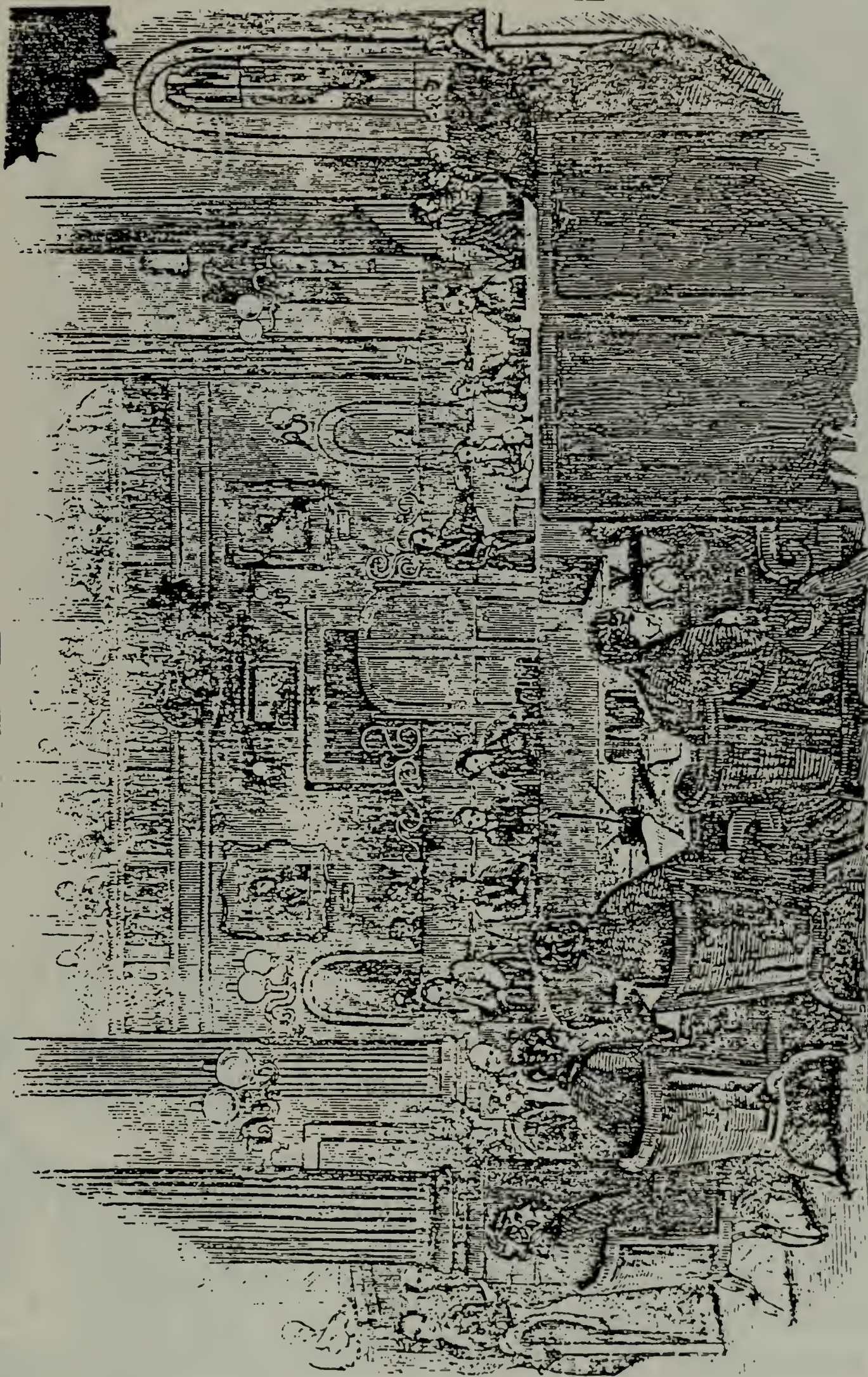
Benjamin Franklin 1770



1851



THE HALL OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON



THE SENATE CHAMBER, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

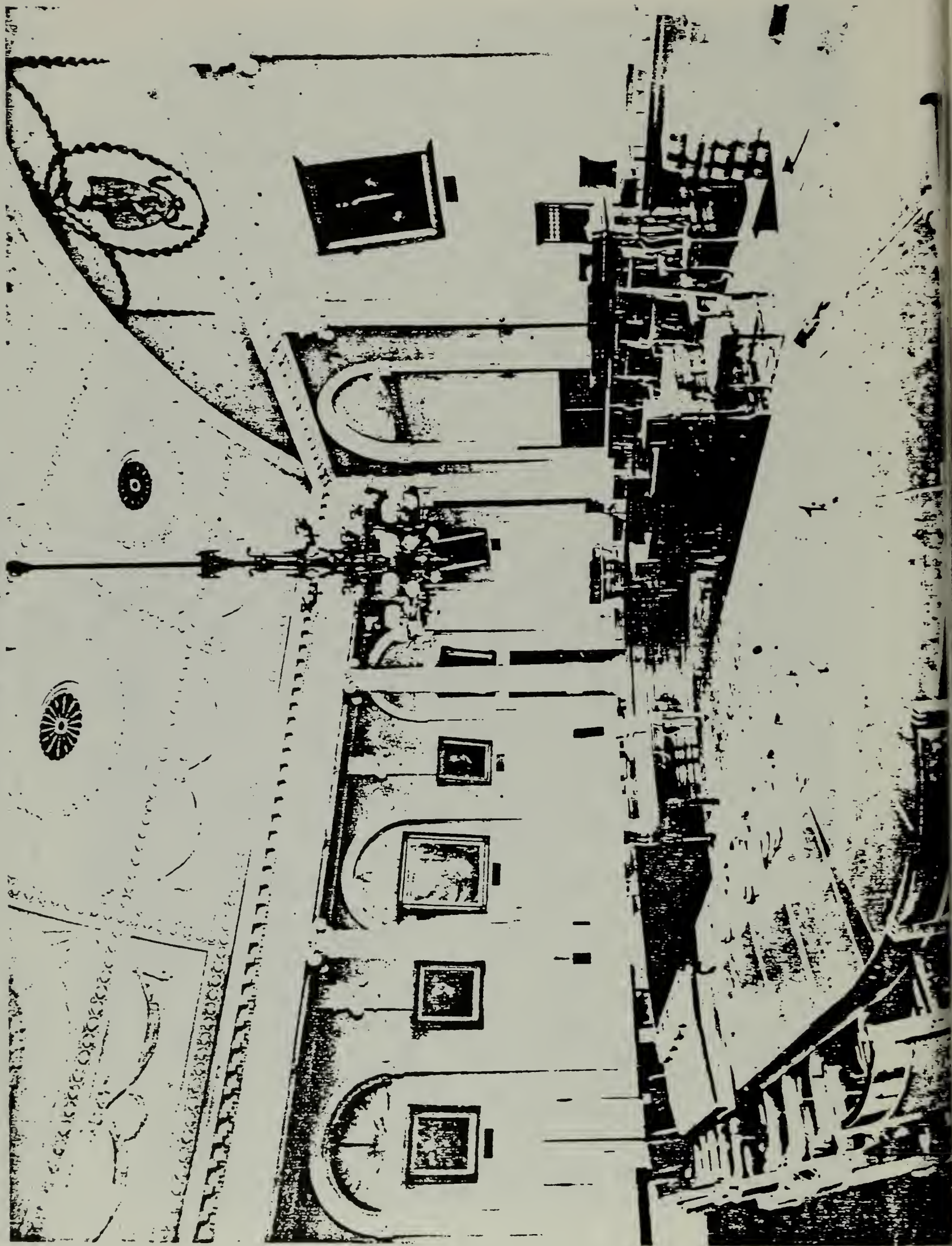
Above our artist has sketched for us a fine and accurate view of the Senate Chamber in the State House, Boston, where the "assembled wisdom" are now congregated. It is a very

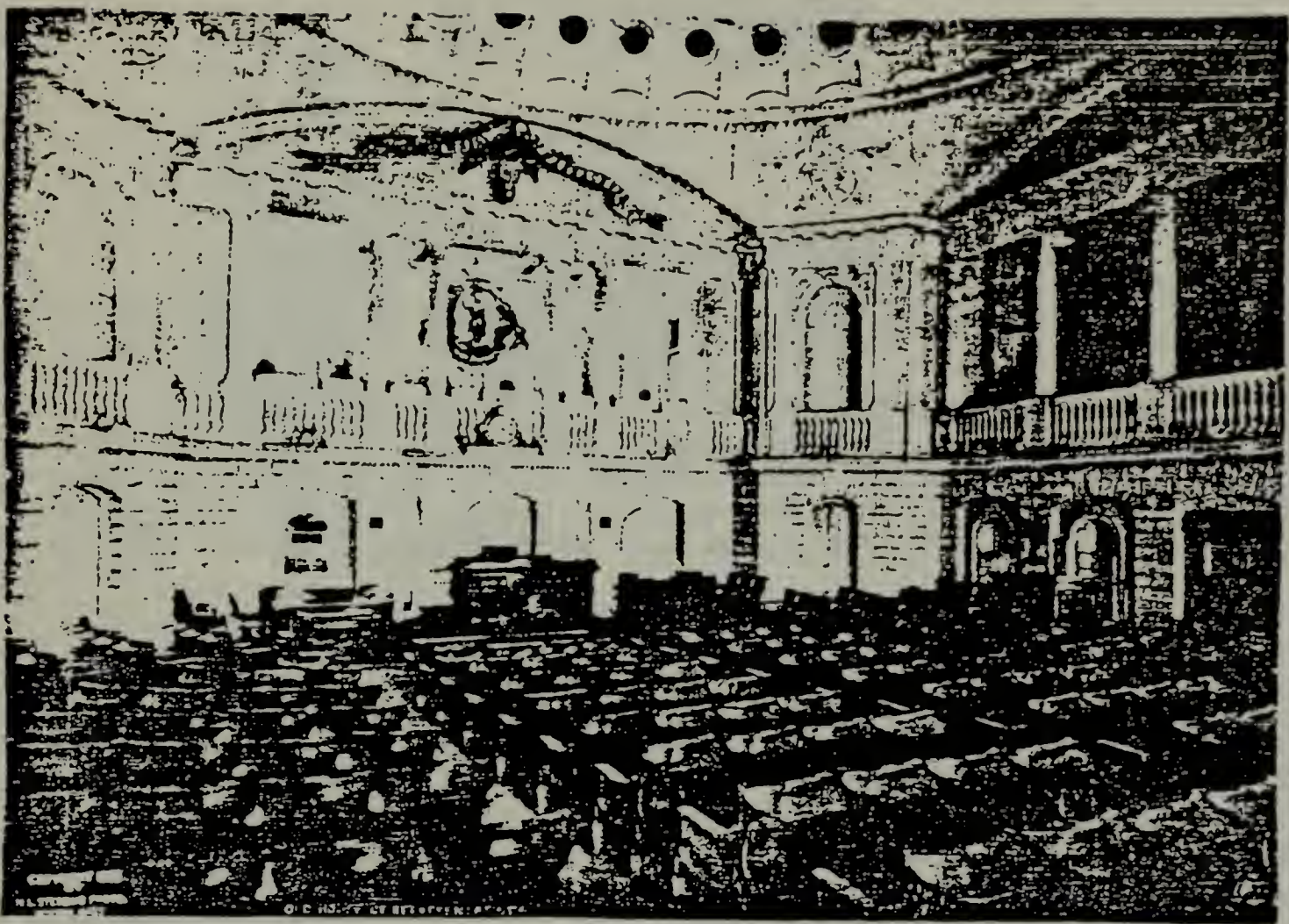
faithful transcript of the scene during business hours and will be valued by our readers, especially those in the country who have friends or relatives in the Senate. Below we give a like view, equally excellent for its faithful character,

of the Hall of Representatives during its session, and as it appears each day at the present time. This scene will interest a larger number, particularly inasmuch as the House contains so many more members than the Senate. Our country

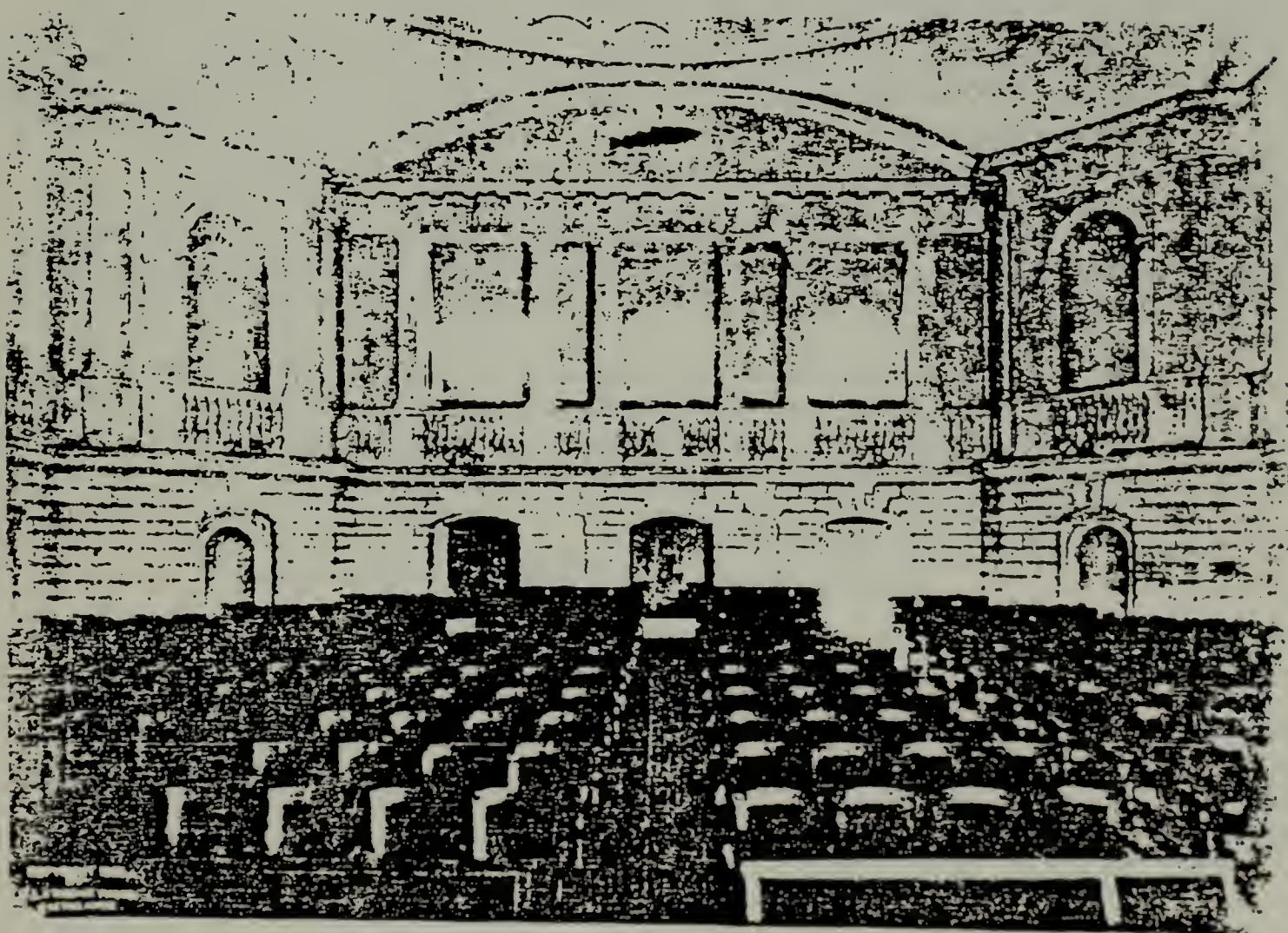
readers in Massachusetts can thus see how their neighbor, father, uncle or friend, who has gone to the "General Court," appears when in his seat at the State House in Boston. The present is a working session, and the attendance full.

Old Senate Chamber

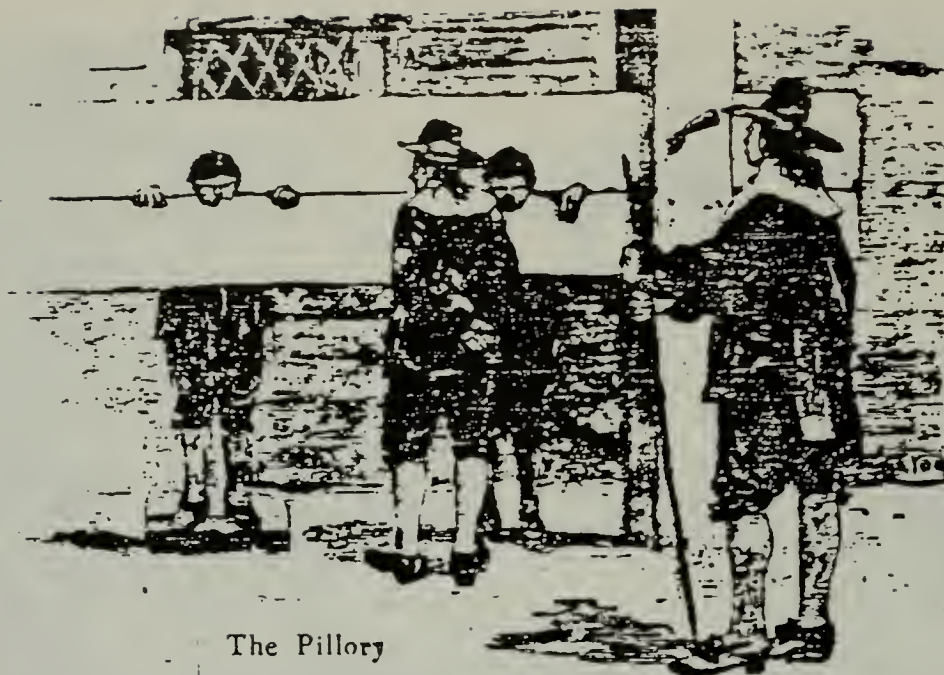




REPRESENTATIVES' HALL — Jan. 2, 1895.
(Looking North.)



REPRESENTATIVES' HALL — Jan. 2, 1895.
(Looking South.)



The Pillory

YE OLDE TYME GENERAL COURT

Persecution was a favorite legislative sport of old-time members of the General Court. On May 22, 1661, a law was passed in Massachusetts classing all Quakers as vagabonds and ordered arrested.

This is the way the law read: "If found guilty of being a wandering Quaker, he or she is to be stripped naked from the middle upwards and tied to a cart's tail, and whipped through the town and from thence immediately conveyed from town constable to town constable until out of the jurisdiction. Any Quaker returning is to be like treated.

"If three times convicted, he or she shall be sent to the House of Correction. If the county judge does not release them, they shall be branded with the letter R on the left shoulder and be severely whipped and sent away as before.

"If he or she returns again, they shall be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues and enemies to the common peace and brought to trial for their banishment on pain of death.

"In the case of the Quakers arising among ourselves, they shall be proceeded against according to the law of 1658 and banished and, if they return, to be treated as vagabond Quakers."

NOTE:

THE 1600'S WERE THE BLACKEST DAYS FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT. IT WAS PURITAN-ORIENTED AND AS SUCH RAILED AGAINST EVERY OTHER RELIGION, NO MATTER WHAT, WITH THE QUAKERS SUFFERING MOST FROM THE FULL FORCE OF THE LAW WHICH WAS SADISTIC, BRUTAL AND SAVAGE IN ITS EFFECT.

When the American revolutionists were pursuing a new mode of life in which they sought to order their own affairs far removed from the suppressing power of the British monarchs, Thomas Paine, the crusty English writer, argued that the reins of government must be placed in the hands of the people.

"In America," said Paine, "the law is King. In absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law ought to be King."

Thomas Jefferson picked up on the theme and formalized man's yearnings by stating: "...all men are created equal... with certain unalienable rights...that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed..."

It was not a dominant thought in the minds of the early colonists that complete independence from the Mother country was the course of government for them. For the first hundred or more years the colonists' hope was a sense of freedom, a hope to seek opportunity. That was all.

When that freedom of opportunity came under peril from the actions of the Mother country, it became evident that self-government was necessary in order to protect freedom and opportunity.

The American Revolution was a turning point in the history of governments. The high-minded Revolutionary dreamers envisioned a land where a person could unchain his own society. Under the American Constitution and those of the states, he could build and achieve, limited only by what he was able to do and willing to do.

To make certain his freedoms and opportunities would be guaranteed, Government had to be his tool. Government would be there to serve him, not he the government. That is why the Massachusetts Constitution in Article 19 gives every citizen the following privilege:

Art. XIX. The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good: give instructions to their representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by the way of addresses, petitions, or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer. [See Amendments, Art. LXVIII, The Initiative, II, sect. 2.]

From its inception under the Constitution the principal use of government in America has been to develop and expand opportunity, all the while protecting liberty and freedom of action. Unfortunately, when an imbalance develops, even in Constitutional government, some citizens have been unduly protected at the expense of the freedom of others. In some cases, one man's unrestrained liberty has taken away another man's opportunity and freedom.

Government must protect every man's liberties and keep open every man's opportunity. It has been a constant struggle

for government to make certain that neither liberty nor opportunity becomes unstitched.

Slavery, cheap child labor, hazards in the work place, disregard for human values and other ingredients made it difficult for some to make a good life in America. Exploitation of minerals, forests, rivers and water supplies diminished the future opportunity of all Americans. Greed, selfishness, the making of money at the expense of the ignorant all have had their play.

There has been no place else to go for relief, but to the government on whatever level. Under our system, the grievance must be addressed. It has taken time in many cases to right whatever has been wrong, but no other form of government but ours has met the challenge and protected liberties, freedoms and opportunities. Despite all its imperfections, government relentlessly strives for a better life for its citizens.

In the long-ago of pre-Constitution times, government did little for the people but batter them unmercifully if they broke any one of a myriad of savage laws. The early years were not all that pleasant for religious, political or high-level thought.

Today government is into everybody's life. There is scarcely any person who can boast of independence, for government is there on all sides of whatever the issue. The cry of "There Ought to be a Law," is heard on every street corner and no nation created has placed so many laws on its books as has America, its states and local communities.

The world is complex and the citizen needs protection. He can receive it only from his government. For instance: He owns an automobile. It is financed under terms whose interest rates are controlled by state statute. He buys a home under certain state statutes and regulations. He needs protection from the usurer. He needs protection from other motorists and from unsafe manufacturing standards. Consumer protection is a big thing in governmental circles.

If a citizen takes public transportation---buses, trains, the MBTA or whatever, there are laws and regulations all over the place to protect him. His bank deposits are protected by the government.

The citizen works under minimum wage laws, industrial accident protection, collective bargaining, safety standards. If he is laid off, he gets government support until he finds a new job. They will retrain him and help him find other employment.

When he grows too old to work he is eligible for Social Security and other benefits. For a veteran, other programs are available. He has protection for his pension system. If he gets sick enough, he has hospital care. He will go to a hospital built in most cases with Federal funds. He very well might be treated by a doctor who received his training on government subsidies and scholarships. If he dies, he has already counted on his government to take care of his wife and dependent children as well as his sick or invalid mother.

3

His government keeps germs out of his milk and bugs out of his corn flakes. The government puts chlorine and perhaps fluorine in his drinking water, puts out the fire if his house starts to burn, makes certain he gets electricity to keep his TV going. His government licenses most suppliers or services and commodities. It picks up his garbage and kills some of his flies. It protects him from foreign invaders and local intruders. It keeps him from shooting too many deer, ducks and other game. It protects the fishing grounds.

His government educates his children and builds places for them to play and swim. It shows him how to plant crops and subsidizes farm products. It builds roads for his automobiles, channels for his boats, bridges for him to cross rivers, airports for his planes and it locks up those who break the law. If he cannot afford a lawyer, government will assign one.

Our form of government responds to the citizen in ten thousand ways. He does not even breathe without government concern. He inhales tobacco smoke at his own risk for the government demands a printed warning on each pack of cigarettes. No smoking signs are now everywhere by law and by regulation. If he becomes drug or alcohol dependent, his government helps out.

All of the above services the Constitutionally-protected citizen has insisted upon, using his government to protect and improve his position and status. He has demanded that the government assume the financial burden to carry out those things he feels are necessary for his betterment, his freedom and his opportunities.

Government is no longer merely to be tolerated as a necessary evil. It must be regarded both as a protector and a benefactor of the citizen who daily depends upon it for ever more and more costly services. The citizen expects, and properly so, that those services be efficiently administered, as he sees more and more tax money absorbed by government programs.

The great American contribution to mankind has been the union of government and freedom. That concept received its first full thrust here in Massachusetts more than 200 years ago when citizens of this old colony made incredible sacrifices to create a government of laws and not of men.

——Governor Terry Sanford

——Senator John F. Parker

HOUSE vs SENATE

The House has always been turbulent. Here the grass-roots issues are fought. It is loose and argumentative and always has been. It was intended to be the peoples' forum. The Senate, on the other hand, has always been more sedate. In 1923, when the Senate was overwhelmingly Republican, there were only 23 roll calls and little debate. When the Senate went to 21-19 and 20-20 in the 1950's, debate stepped up but, again, fell away when the political structure went overwhelmingly Democratic 32-8 with roll calls few and far between as in long-ago days. The Senate's best years were when Republicans and Democrats were evenly divided.

EVERYTHING DEPENDS
ON YOUR POINT OF VIEW

Who should be taxed and at what rates has been an on-going issue at all government levels back into time. There is always the political cry to increase the taxes on the so-called "rich". These are never fully identified, but any candidate who yells "soak-the-rich" is bound to get himself a lot of votes, for jealousy plays a major role in the election process. A candidate who can make the voters jealous or envious of someone else has a lot going for him at the polls.

Generally speaking, and in the eyes of the average citizen who is "rich" is someone who makes more than he does. The "soak-the-rich" syndrome always means those higher on the economic ladder. The tax reformers always aim their guns at those above themselves, unless of course the reformer happens to be a "hand-me-down-rich" from an old money family." He may join the "soak-the-rich" crowd, but will never go out of his way to personally sponsor and drive through Congress or a legislative body a real "soak-the-rich" bill that would include him.

Many years ago, there was a distinguished liberal professor who became a tax reformer. He was well-sheltered himself in his educational sinecure and earning \$20,000 a year. Not bad for the times. His cry was that anyone earning over \$25,000 per year should be taxed at a higher rate. "The rich should be made to pay," he stated.

Inflation and more aid to education increased salaries for educators and pushed the professor's yearly pay up over \$25,000 per year. He continued his cry that the "rich" earning more than \$30,000 per year should pay heavier taxes. When his salary reached beyond \$30,000 he upped his scale of "rich" to those beyond \$35,000.

For all anybody knows the professor is probably now earning \$45,000 a year and insisting that the "rich" earning over \$55,000 a year should be paying higher taxes.

As the professor's own economic scale improved he had a changing perception of what it means to be "rich."

"WATCH YOUR LEGISLATORS!"

The elections are over---our legislators are chosen, and within a month or two they will begin their duties as the law-makers of our states and our nation. A few of these Senators and Representatives in the State and National Governments are thoroughly good and trustworthy; a few others are as thoroughly bad and vicious in their purposes and actions; but the great majority are neither very good or very bad. They are simply weak in morals and incapable in mind, the easily led followers of whoever seems to them at the moment to promise that which will be for their personal or political advantage.

NOTE: The above article appeared in a newspaper called "Lord's Day Leader," in 1840---145 years ago.



WHEN A PERSON BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT

A PRAYER

Dear Lord, as I enter the Massachusetts General Court to begin a new service and a new experience, cleanse my heart and mind of all malice, all hatred, all jealousy that might linger there as a result of a bitter campaign, or my own intolerance. Let me approach my duties with an open mind and friendliness toward my fellow legislators, and those dedicated employes of the Commonwealth. Let me recognize that the service that I am now entering is a sacred trust.

Let me humbly recognize my own shortcomings and my inexperience in the complicated ramifications of government, and let not my ego or self-conceit retard me from utilizing to the fullest the knowledge and experience of those long in public service. Let me not forget that the General Court in which my fellow citizens have proudly placed me is the oldest deliberative body in the nation, brought into being and developed through the vision, sacrifices and labors of many unselfish sons and daughters of our Commonwealth who have gone before.

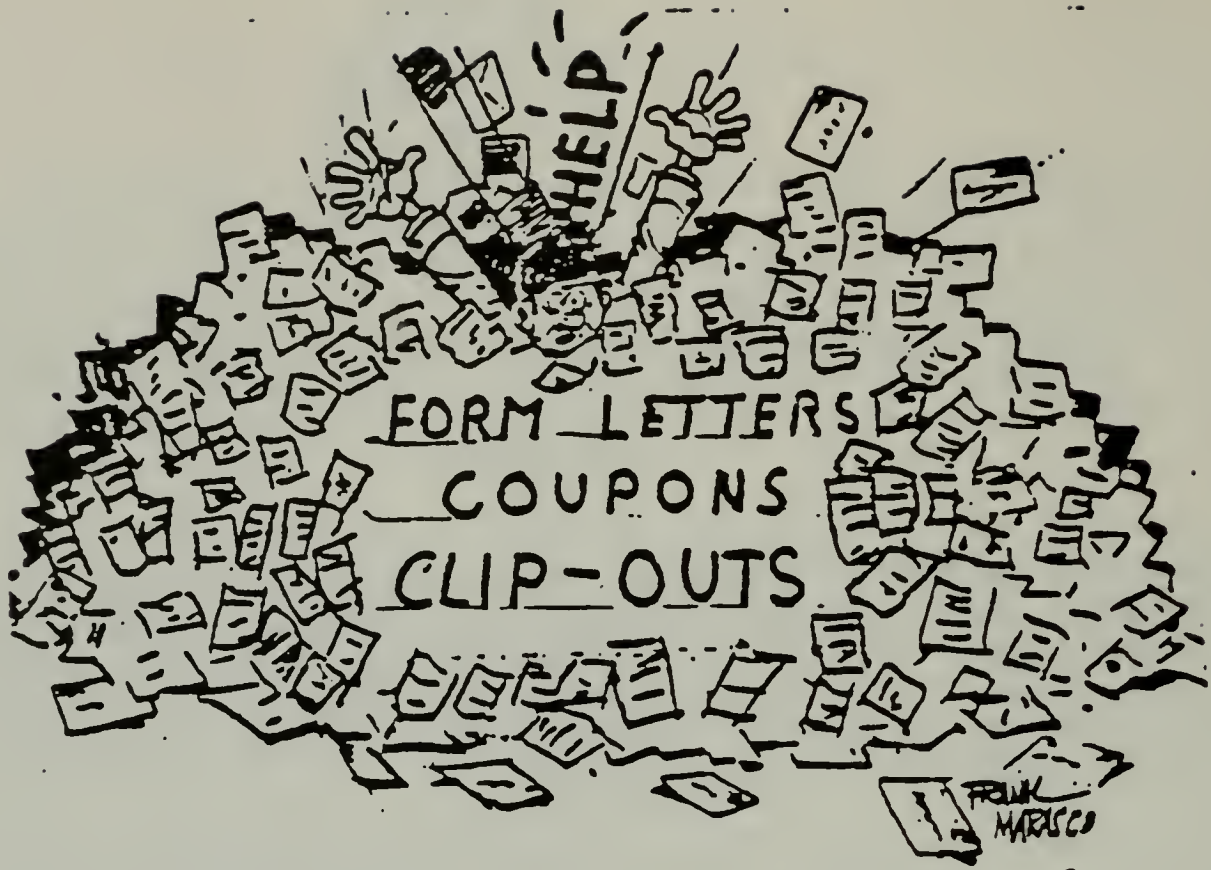
Let me quickly recognize that my greatest contribution to public service will not be by extravagant promises to reform or to disrupt the orderly process of existing things, but rather by a patient and intelligent application of the principles of Your Golden Rule, the Constitution and the laws of our Commonwealth.

Let me stand as the Rock of Gibraltar against evil in government. Give me the strength, dear Lord, to resist all temptations to corrupt practice and guide me that my votes might be cast on the side of right.

Grant that I may so conduct myself as to have the confidence of my fellow legislators. In my contacts with my constituents, endow me with the wisdom of Solomon, the patience of Job and the kindness of Jesus.

When my service has been called to a close, grant me the supreme satisfaction of knowing in my heart, whatever be the cause for the decision of the electorate to return me to private life, that I have served faithfully and honorably.

Senator John F. Parker



SINGLE ISSUE LOBBYISTS

AND HOW TO HANDLE THEM

A new phenomenon has developed over the past several years - the single issue lobbyist or constituent who measures legislators, not from a point of view of overall performance, but from the narrow view of their own special interest.

Constituent mail has admittedly fallen off from taxpayer John Doe, who at one time wrote to his representatives or senators expressing his own personal opinion on affairs of state. Even John Citizen bill filing is now negligible as most legislation is now filed by Legislators in a make-work atmosphere or by special interest groups bent upon getting more and more from the government.

Increasingly constituents have turned away from writing letters. Now, much of the mail received by Legislators comes in pre-printed forms, shamelessly sent to the State House without the slightest attempt to make them look personalized.

Newspapers, magazines and other types of printed material carry coupons asking the reader to fill it in and send it along to their legislator. Thousands of these non-personal coupons land on Legislators' desks, all printed with a message, signed and that is all. Nothing else is written - absolutely no personal touch.

One of the Legislators who has suffered under the deluge of non-personal mail suggested that instead of spending time and money to respond to every coupon that an all-purpose legislative form be printed and used to answer constituent form letters, coupons, clip-outs, etc.

The form would read like this:

Dear (Sir/Madam);
I have received your (card/letter) .
I found it

☐ relevant
☐ ridiculous
☐ worthwhile
☐ I almost threw it away

Having promised to respond to all constituent inquiries, you may be assured that:

☐ I share your concern (s)
☐ My hands are tied
☐ The Democrats run everything
☐ The Republicans won't co-operate
☐ You've got my vote
☐ I'm studying the matter
☐ I'll speak to the Chairman
☐ I'm against the measure
☐ Give me more information
☐ Dynamic action is called for
☐ I have an amendment
☐ My staff is checking it out
☐ We can't afford the expenditure
☐ We can find money for everything else

With warmest personal regards, I remain

Senator/Representative

P.S. Can you make my fund raiser on _____ at _____

☐ Yes ☐ No

OBSERVATIONS

BY ANSWERING MAIL WITH THIS TIME-SAVING FORM, SECRETARIES AND STAFF MEMBERS CAN APPLY THEIR TALENTS TO MORE IMPORTANT TASKS THAN DREARILY TYPING LONG LETTERS OF EXPLANATION, DUCKING, DODGING AND AVOIDING THE ISSUE. IN ADDITION YOU MIGHT SCARE UP A CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION OR TWO - ALTHOUGH THAT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY.

-----Senator John F. Parker

"THE FINE ART OF LOBBYING"

OR

"ADVICE ON HOW TO MUSCLE A LEGISLATOR"

JANUARY, 1983

(As observed by State Senate Minority Leader John F. Parker)

I

On your first meeting with a new legislator be as friendly as a mongrel pup. Act like you have known him all your life. Grab his hand in a long-lost friend manner. Tell him you are delighted he was elected (even if secretly you may have contributed to his opponent). Tell him he will enjoy the Legislature and if you can do anything for him, just call. Be sure to give him your card. It will make him feel important.

II

Try to find out his interests: baseball, golf, football, other sports (perhaps for tickets later on, if he votes right). Does he play tennis? Remind him you are a member of a tennis club. Ask about his wife and children. What are their interests? Whatever he tells you, agree they are yours also.

III

Invite him to have a cup of coffee - the first step to luncheon and perhaps later out to dinner (if his vote is important).

IV

If he is cautious (and new legislators are), remember flattery is a delicious poison. You like his haircut, his suit, shirt, tie, shoes. You hear he has a pretty wife or two nice kids (you have checked this out beforehand). Everybody speaks well of him, etc., etc.

V

As time goes on catch the legislator when he is extremely busy and fully occupied. His resistance will be low and you can easily knock his guard down.

VI

Always stress the number of votes your organization represents - upping the actual count by 100%. Give the impression they can be helpful or otherwise at the next election. Your ability to frighten a legislator is limited only by the lobbyist on the other side's ability to frighten him the other way.

VII

If you are a Democratic lobbyist and he is a Democrat, or a Republican lobbyist speaking to a Republican, common ground is helpful. A Democratic lobbyist speaking to a Republican or vice versa can sometimes be trouble, but who knows you might find you

best friends will be in the enemy camp. In any event as a lobbyist you have to fish in all ponds.

VIII

Don't hesitate to nail a legislator in any crowd. Maneuver the situation so that he will be confronted by a group of his constituents who are on your side. Make sure the confronting constituents can get a little angry and demanding. Passive constituents who could possibly understand there are two sides to every issue should not be used as confronters. They can be brushed off too easily. The hard-nose pressers are the best for muscling a legislator.

IX

No matter if you are vague on your bill or specific, be emphatic. Talk like the world will come apart unless the bill is enacted. Speak of House 2345 and keep using that number over and over again. The legislator might not remember the details, but he could remember the number. Make sure you leave a copy of the bill on his desk or stuff it into his hand when you leave. Scribble your name in the upper corner of the legislation as another reminder.

X

Write him a long explanation of the measure. Pour it on. He may not read the entire explanation but will be impressed and might feel that it could be a good bill if it takes six pages of explanation. Don't ever give a single reason why a bill should become law. Shower the legislator with reasons. One good reason is never enough, and you aren't doing your job as a lobbyist if you can only give one reason in favor of a bill.

XI

Be tenacious, above all else. See the legislator as many times as possible. Write him, wire him, phone him, visit him, and get others to do so also. If you are to phone him, do it around dinner time. He will be glad to get away from the kids and the dishes for an important chat with you. Go to see him more than once. A single visit will not justify the juicy expense account you will submit to your employer or organization.

XII

Whenever you have a chance be sure to monopolize the legislator's attention. Load him down with a mass of details about your bill. Remember, the bill is everything. Knock it into his brain from every direction. Learn to look sad and put-upon by powerful lobbyists (the other side). Try to get him to sympathize with you as the underdog (legislators love underdogs right or wrong).

XIII

If the legislator tells you a joke, listen intently and laugh when he is through, even though you had yourself told the same story to another legislator an hour before and who had passed it on to him. No legislator likes to have a lobbyist tell him he already has heard the story.

XIV

Remember, ego is a big thing in the state and national legislatures. Many legislators feel they are gifts from higher up and you must learn how to harness this ego and make it work for your ends.

XV

Finally, when you corner a legislator, plead with him, (if you are for benefits), embarrass him, (if you are a labor lobbyist), guide him, (if you are the League of Women Voters), puff him up, (if you are in education), mesmerize him, (a taxpayer organization), growl at him, (if you are the gun lobby), coax him, (if he looks hesitant), but above all else imbed your hook in his head so that when H2345 comes up he will remember it, remember you, think of the next election and vote "YES."

XVI

If all these tactics hurt your cause and you fail, and despite all your hard work your bill goes down the drain, you must simply grin and bear it, swallow an aspirin or two, quietly G D those ingrates, slide out the door across the street to the Gold Dome Pub, nip a few, pull yourself together and start out again the next day looking for another cause.

XVII

However, if your bill makes it, you simply tell one and all, "these legislators really understand the meaning of good government."

Tenants and landlords

over-steps the bounds when it exercises an almost life-or-death power over the right of a legitimate business to prosper are free to patronize the restaurant of their choice — wherever it is located.

But those who take the opposite tack, who consider a liquor establishment cheek-by-jowl with church as being personally offensive to them, or who see no possible danger

On New Year's Eve whatever safeguards tenants in Boston have against out-sized rent increases or evictions caused by planned conversions will expire.

bearing a...
don't...
don't...

THE PRESS

THERE ARE THREE WAYS TO DEAL WITH THE PRESS; THE BEST WAY IS TO TELL THEM EVERYTHING; THIS KEEPS THEM BUSY AND EVENTUALLY EXHAUSTS THEM AND BORES THEM. THE NEXT BEST WAY IS TO TELL THEM NOTHING, WHICH AT LEAST EXCITES THE COP IN THEM AND GIVES THEM THE EXCITEMENT OF A MYSTERY, THE WORST WAY IS TO TRY TO MANIPULATE THEM, TO PRETEND TO BE CANDID IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION, BUT TO USE EVERY TRICK IN THE BOOK TO GET THEM TO FILL THE HEADLINES AND FRONT PAGES WITH CALCULATED TRASH.

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have as if they owned the United Nations.

...an...
...becoming a neigh...
...where only the rich can afford to live."

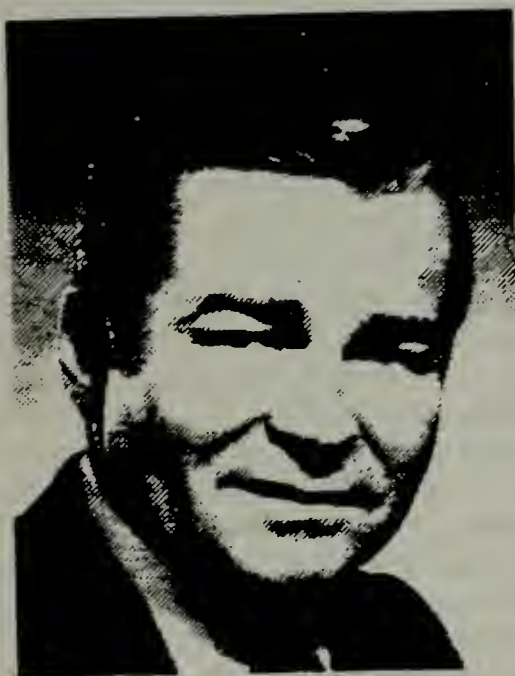
Is it? That is the question the Council and, eventually, Mayor White will have to address, and for which they must find a just answer. Time is running short.

Politics will certainly have a

Matchless Miss Christie

Senate President "Reports" On The Press

Remarks
To The
BENCH-BAR-NEWS COMMITTEE
Of The
MASSACHUSETTS BAR
ASSOCIATION
And
THE SOCIETY OF
PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS,
SIGMA DELTA CHI
May 22, 1984



WILLIAM M. BULGER
PRESIDENT
MASSACHUSETTS SENATE

*"Shakespeare had
the ambitious Iago
whisper falsehoods
in Othello's ear
and bring about the death
of the innocent Desdemona.*

*It reminds us
that whenever
one bears false witness,
something beautiful
may die."*

*"I can conceive
of no greater threat
to a free press
than to proclaim
character assassination
a constitutionally
protected right."*

When I accepted your warm invitation to participate in this session, I was told that the topic to be discussed was "News Coverage of Public Figures: Does the Press go too far?" Simply to state the subject is to suggest the broad range of issues that are comprehended by it. I shall do my best to focus on this subject within the prescribed time constraints.

Sometime in the past year or so I was shown a national "credibility poll" in which the press was ranked dead last.

Below politicians. Below bankers. Even below lawyers!

I have been in public life too long to be overly impressed by polls. And that one seemed particularly useless. All you have to do is strike up a conversation with the person sitting next to you to discover that the press has a credibility problem. It has always had a problem. It probably always will.

In this twentieth year after *New York Times v. Sullivan*, the question "News Coverage of Public Figures: Does the Press go too far?" does not suggest that the press goes too far in praising public figures. The question obviously means "Does the press go too far in its defamation of public figures?"

In answering this question, eighty percent of the jurors, charged to speak the truth on issues presented to them, find that the press does go too far in its defamation of public figures. Their substantial verdicts reflect this attitude. It is a matter of concern that seventy percent of these verdicts of the juries are taken away from the defamed plaintiffs by the trial judge or by appellate courts. This state of affairs does not enhance the popular image of the judiciary nor does it increase confidence in the law in the important court of public opinion.

Three principal concepts suggested by the question presented for

discussion must be considered. They are the concepts of (1) "defamation," (2) the "press," and (3) "public officials" and "public figures."

Defamation has its root in the Latin word *fama*, meaning public estimation, reputation or good name. "A good name," says the Book of Proverbs, "is more precious than great riches." Familiar are the words of Shakespeare in *Othello*, "Who steals my purse steals trash, but he that takes from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him and makes me poor indeed."

It must be remembered that jurors bring into the jury room an understanding that defamation has not only a legal but also a moral dimension. In a speech at Boston College Law School about a month ago, Harvard Law School Professor Harold Berman said that what is lacking among law teachers and law students today is a belief that law is rooted in history and in the moral order of the universe.

In the Judaic-Christian tradition, the law of defamation has its roots in the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." This moral concept reinforcing the law of the case is brought, consciously or subconsciously, into the jury room. It explains, I believe, the jury verdicts against the press in these eighty percent of libel cases that do go to court. Most libel cases where public officials and public figures have a meritorious claim, of course, never get to court. The expense and time required to pursue them and the probability that favorable jury verdicts may be overturned by reviewing courts has a chilling effect on those who would seek judicial redress for the blackening of their good names.

The term "press," as I use the word today, includes the print and the broadcast media. Madison believed that no institution had a greater capacity for error than the press. Jefferson viewed it as a necessary evil. Franklin suggested that one libeled by the press should be privileged to attack the writer

with a club.

Some of our Founding Fathers were even more vociferous. Yet it was clear that our chosen form of government needed an independent press. Thus, freedom of the press was guaranteed when the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was drafted in 1791.

Study of the proceedings resulting in the First Amendment clearly indicates that the intent was to protect speech and press freedoms against dilution. These freedoms had come to be respected and enforced by colonial courts. The intent was not to enlarge them. Although clarifications in the decisions of the court did broaden the protection of the press considerably in ensuing years, protection of private reputations remained. Since defamatory and malicious lies were held to be outside of the freedom of expression guarantee of the First Amendment, libel laws were left to the several states.

The lawyers in the audience will recall that the free speech and press clauses of the First Amendment were made applicable to the states by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1925. But that did not then affect the law of libel in the states. There never was any suggestion that a citizen had a constitutionally-protected right to destroy the reputation of another citizen by lying defamation.

Take note that the character of a citizen has received express protection under our Massachusetts state constitution. Article XI of the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution of Massachusetts provides that "Every subject of the Commonwealth ought to find a certain remedy by having recourse to the laws for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property or character."

Until our jurisprudence was changed by the *Sullivan* case, one was free to publish what he or she would, but subject to very stringent state laws for libel if the publication was false and defamatory. The precious right of freedom of press was balanced against the invaluable right of a good reputation. This was the system that was in effect until two decades ago, a system that had

given us what was undeniably the greatest and most protected press freedom in the world. Our First Amendment was the envy of the world.

But that was not enough for the press. The press demanded an absolute right to print anything about anyone — regardless of how false, how damaging, how malicious it might be. And one day, just two decades ago, the press came close to getting exactly that. An absolutist interpretation of the First Amendment deprived first the public official and then the public figure from the certain remedy, guaranteed by the Constitution, for all injuries or wrongs to his good character, to his good reputation, to his good name.

In that year — 1964 — an elected commissioner in Montgomery, Alabama, sued the New York Times for publishing an advertisement supportive of the civil rights campaign being led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. It was a difficult case — *New York Times v. Sullivan* — because Dr. King was clearly in the right in what he was trying to do, but there were errors of fact, most of them trivial, in the ad which were actionable under Alabama law. In the language of Mr. Justice Holmes, "Great cases like hard cases make bad law." And that, I submit, was exactly what came out of the *Sullivan* case and its progeny, up to and including the recent *Bose* case: bad law.

Sullivan made a dramatic shift in the burden of proof confronting the plaintiff. A public official can now maintain an action in libel only if he or she can prove "actual malice" on the part of the publisher or broadcaster. "Malice" in the common law has historically meant hatred or spite — but not in this decision. No, the court subsequently made it clear that a public official could not recover even if it was proved that the defamer uttering the falsehood was actuated by hatred and spite. The court explained that to prove "actual malice" one must prove that the publisher either knew he was lying when he defamed the plaintiff or that he did so with reckless disregard for whether the defamation was true or not. One

might reasonably conclude that if the publisher made no attempt whatsoever to ascertain the truthfulness or falsity of the defamation he would be evidencing a reckless disregard. Not so!

The court later held that "reckless disregard" meant that the publisher had entertained serious doubts as to the truthfulness of the defamation at the time he printed it. Thus, the decision in *Sullivan* meant someone actuated by hatred and spite could publish defamatory falsehoods about a public official for the purpose of injuring him. The official could not maintain a libel action, however, unless he could prove that the traducer either knew or was pretty sure that what he was publishing was a lie.

The explicit reason for the *Sullivan* decision, according to Justice Brennan, was the "pervasive fear" of press self-censorship. This was portrayed as a manifest evil to be avoided at all costs. Self-censorship was said to result whenever a reporter or editor omitted a word or passage or an entire story because of possible legal consequences.

I would suggest that without a decent degree of self-censorship — of voluntary curbs on our conduct — we could not share this room in peace and safety. We could certainly have no freedom of speech, for the mob would descend to the level of collegiate undergraduates and shout down and silence the expression of any unpopular view. Self-censorship is the amalgam of civilized society. How, I ask you, can one take the position that nothing must deter those who would bear false witness against their neighbors?

The traducer for profit, the professional teller of malicious lies, the paid poisoner of reputations, these are the arch villains of scripture and literature. No amount of hypocrisy or sophistry can make them socially acceptable or politically desirable.

Shakespeare had the ambitious Iago whisper falsehoods in Othello's ear and bring about the death of the innocent Desdemona. It reminds us that whenever one bears false witness, something beautiful may die. I can conceive of no greater threat to a free press than to pro-

claim character assassination a constitutionally-protected right.

The Warren Court did not stop with the *Sullivan* case. It went on to extend the "actual malice" doctrine to an elusive class called "public figures." Permit me first, however, to discuss defamation of the class of "public officials" of which I am a member.

On five separate occasions in the 1960's, I was elected by the voters of the Fourth Suffolk District to be a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. On seven different occasions during the '70's and '80's, I have been elected to represent the First Suffolk District in the Massachusetts Senate. The prospects seem good that I may be re-elected for an eighth term. It goes without saying that, as every other elected official, I must be sensitive to the concerns and wishes of those whom I represent.

On four occasions, I have been elected President of the Massachusetts Senate. This responsibility entails a high degree of sensitivity to the concerns and wishes of the members of the Senate.

The district which I have represented for twenty-three years will never, never forget and will require a long time to forgive the deliberate and contemptuous treatment received from the press by way of community defamation and defamation of public figures during the past decade. The occasion was, as many of you will recognize, the inept intrusion by the federal judiciary into a matter every parent holds most dear — the education of our children.

Be assured, my constituents believe that the press goes too far.

As for the members of the Senate, they are, of course, public officials. One area in which they have expertise is the legislative process. They remember how the press only in the past year went too far in defaming them on the subject of legislative rules.

I submit that any serious student of the legislative process, any capable political scientist, any lawyer proficient in constitutional law and any competent journalist could have accurately predicted that the Supreme Judicial Court would have had no choice but to issue its unanimous opinion that the

determination and interpretation of the rules of each branch of the legislature are matters solely for that branch. Yet portions of the press did not hesitate after the case had been rightly decided not only to heap abuse on the legislators but even on the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, public officials all. Yes, the press does go too far.

Jurors think that the press goes too far; the public, of which my constituents are representative, think that the press goes too far. The members of our Senate who are public officials themselves think that the press goes too far. I suggest that the time has come to heed their rising voices.

Defamation is an offense against truth, justice, peace and charity.

An egregious example was the merciless exploitation by elements of the press of a member of our Senate who was temporarily very ill and disturbed. It was obvious to every member of the Senate. It was obvious to his family, which ultimately had to take measures to help him. It was obvious to everyone who came into contact with the man that he had a very serious problem. And yet, day in and day out, week after week and month after month, he was hounded for news stories by the press. I can think of nothing related to First Amendment protection for the press that would excuse the sensational exploitation of his unfortunate condition. Indeed, in this very building, members of the press admitted that the press went too far.

Especially regrettable was the fact that in the effort to exploit him, they printed, time after time, various assertions which he had made against other members, despite the fact that the reporters were aware themselves that the statements were being made by a person who was not totally responsible for his own utterances.

In one rather sordid moment, a reporter who had followed the Senator in and out of the chamber on a hundred occasions was heard to urge the Senator to repeat on the floor of the Senate the allegations that the Senator had made to the reporter in private. Then the reporter would be able to print the allegations in his news story. But he would not be willing to print them if

they were only stated to him privately.

The charges, dramatic, bizarre and totally without foundation, were made on the floor of the Senate so the privileged defamation could be broadcast by the exploiting member of the press. Can there be any question but that the press does go too far?

Many others give evidence that the press does go too far. The names of Carol Burnett, William Tavoulareas, and General William Westmoreland are familiar to you. If they have the resources, if they may endure the embarrassment, they will expend enormous sums of money and devote unlimited amounts of time to vindicate their good names.

Let me refer briefly to the experiences of three citizens of Massachusetts.

Consider the recently terminated Massachusetts case of Nicholas P. Pacella, a school teacher who, in 1975, was a candidate for the Milford Board of Selectmen. On the day before the election, an anonymous caller telephoned a radio station and made defamatory remarks directed against him on a talk show devoted to the election. An electric delay system gave the talkmaster a seven second preview of the caller's question and an opportunity to prevent its broadcast. But the talkmaster chose not to use the button that would have deleted the defamatory remarks.

Mr. Pacella sued the radio station and the talkmaster in the Worcester County Superior Court.

After the taking of deposition, after a hearing in the Milford District Court, after the preparation of costly transcripts, the case was sent to a Superior Court jury. There were several days of hearings. The jury found that Mr. Pacella had been defamed, that the accusation was false and that he was entitled to \$15,000 in damages and \$7,000 in interest.

The trial judge, acting under the law of the *Sullivan* case and its progeny, took the jury's verdict away from Mr. Pacella. He gave the defendant radio station and the talkmaster a judgment notwithstanding the jury's verdict. A month ago the Massachusetts Appeals Court upheld the decision of the trial

judge. Thus ended a case that began with a false accusation on May 6, 1975, and concluded on April 17, 1984.

The jury certainly believed that the press had gone too far. Mr. Pacella devoted a substantial amount of his limited resources in an effort to demonstrate that the press had gone too far.

Another case in Massachusetts had its beginnings on January 18, 1968 in the Republic of Vietnam. Listen to portions of an official citation from the Army's Vietnam Headquarters: "Bronze Star Medal (First Oak Leaf Cluster) with 'V' Device . . . For heroism in connection with military operations against a hostile force: First Lieutenant Lakian distinguished himself by heroic action on 18 January 1968 while serving as United States Intelligence Advisor to the 21st Infantry Division, Army of the Republic of Vietnam . . . His courageous conduct and willingness to risk personal safety resulted in the routing of several numerically superior enemy forces . . ."

And now hear the radio broadcast concerning the same event. Mr. Lakian, in 1980 a candidate for the Republican nomination for the office of Governor, became the subject of the following remarks on one of the radio stations: "... Of course, then there's the stories of his being a war hero, when according to the records . . . he never even came close. Lakian tried to pass it all off as nothing but the fluff most politicians are accustomed to . . ." And it goes on: "... whether it be nothing but fluff, an outright disgrace, or enough to lose him the race, well that will have to be determined when we all pay a visit to the polls in the up and coming primary."

According to the records of the Middlesex Superior Court, that case against the radio station has been settled. John Lakian doubtless is to be numbered among the many who think that in its defamation of public figures, the press has gone too far.

The third example of a recent case involving a Massachusetts citizen also had its beginnings in the 1960's.

Dr. Amar J. Bose is a professor at M.I.T., from which he has received three earned degrees. He is one of

those distinguished scientists who in recent years have contributed greatly to our state's economy. He invented a loudspeaker of unique design and of very high quality.

The magazine *Consumer Reports* in 1970 published an article about the Bose loudspeaker which the courts later found to be false and disparaging. A corporation is considered under some circumstances to be a public figure. In a disparagement cast, a corporation may be subject to the "actual malice" and the "clear and convincing evidence" standards of the *Sullivan* case.

The late Senior Judge Anthony Julian, sitting without jury, on the basis of what he heard and saw in the courtroom, did not believe the key witnesses for *Consumer Reports*. He found that the Bose Corporation had been the victim of the false disparagement and the actual malice of *Consumer Reports*. The Bose Corporation was awarded \$210,000 in damages, interest and costs.

A few weeks ago, the United States Supreme Court, however, without seeing or hearing the witnesses but only on the basis of the printed record, reversed Judge Julian's finding. The Supreme Court took away from the Bose Corporation the \$210,000 judgment it had been awarded by the trial court.

What is of particular interest is the way the Bose case, and almost any other media libel case, is treated by the press. This subject would make a worthwhile doctoral dissertation. Whatever is favorable to the media defendant is printed or broadcast. Whatever is not, is distorted or ignored by most of the media.

Dr. Bose joins other defamed plaintiffs like Mr. Pacella and Mr. Lakian in their view that the press goes too far.

There are those in the media who admit that the press has gone too far. The editor of the *New York Daily News*, in the course of a 1980 address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, said, "The media have . . . made a considerable contribution to the disarray in government and therefore have an obligation to help set matters straight. Or at least to improve them. The corollary of increased power is increased responsibility. The press cannot stand apart, as if

it were not an interested party, not to say participant, in the democratic process.

"We should begin with an editorial philosophy that is more positive, more tolerant of the frailties of human institutions and their leaders, more sensitive to the rights and feelings about individuals — public officials as well as private citizens.

"We should make peace with the government. No code of chivalry requires us to challenge every official action. Our assignment is to report and explain issues, not decide them. We are supposed to be the observers, not the participants — the neutral party, not the permanent political opposition. We should cure ourselves of our adversarial mindset.

"For if we are always downbeat — if we exaggerate and dramatize the negatives in our society — we attack the optimism that has always been a wellspring of American progress. We undermine public confidence, and without intending it, become a cause rather than just a reporter of national decline.

"We should also develop a more sensitive value system to be sure that we do not needlessly hurt public figures while exaggerating the public's right to know. Rights do not have to be exercised just because they exist or because there is a story to be told . . ."

Ernest van der Haag, who was a member of the National News Council and is Professor of Jurisprudence at Fordham University, says, "Reporters — probably the most self-righteous, arrogant and least self-critical group of people in America — assert that they represent a public interest in information. But they systematically confuse information relevant to the public interests with stimulating public curiosity so as to sell papers."

Michel A. Ledeen, who was a professor at Washington University and is now associated with Georgetown University, in the Fall 1983 issue of *Public Interest*, writes: "In practice, the news business in the United States . . . is the product of the three networks and the two or three big newspapers . . . The media are a politically homogeneous class with at least one well-defined class in-

terest: increasing their own power . . . The ascent of the media has been made possible by a legal interpretation of the First Amendment that effectively grants the media remarkable privileges without demanding commensurate responsibilities; and the government's almost total compliance with the demands of the press.

"What would happen," he asks, "if the government went back to its own work and relegated the media to a secondary role in the daily routine? Why should the taxpayers have to pay for large press quarters in every public building? . . . If our public officials treat members of the media with normal respect while reminding them that they are mere citizens, that no one elected them to make policy, I suspect that rationality may, yet assert itself." Mr. Ledeen obviously thinks that the press has gone too far.

Sigma Delta Chi, one of the sponsors of today's discussion, adopted in 1973 a comprehensive high-minded set of practices to which journalists should aspire stressing ethics, accuracy, objectivity and fair play. The Ethics Code concludes with these words:

PLEDGE: Journalists should actively censure and try to prevent violations of these standards, and they should encourage their observance by all newspeople. Adherence to this code of ethics is intended to preserve the bond of mutual trust and respect between American journalists and the American people.

Representatives of the media in Massachusetts, I propose, should review the Society's Code and revise

it if necessary. And then exert every effort to promote and publicize it within all elements of the press and establish means of bringing it to the attention of the public. There could then be established the Massachusetts News Council to comprise representatives of the media, schools of journalism, business and civic leaders, and educators. The Council would be representative of the general community and not be dominated by the media. It would provide a forum by means of which adherence to the code of ethics could be judged.

To some extent, the Massachusetts News Council could be modeled on and benefit from the experience of the recently terminated National News Council. It may come as a surprise to you that there was something called a National News Council. As one commentator has observed, "The conspiracy of silence that greeted its birth and smothered life . . . included most news organizations. When it was born a little more than a decade ago, the *New York Times* drew a line in the dust, stared this incipient Goliath of repression squarely in the face and courageously proclaimed 'Never'."

But those who believe that the press does go too far in defaming public officials and public figures would find a Massachusetts News Council valuable.

Why do we place such a high value on our reputations?

The answer is that, for most of us,

reputation is the measure of our lives. Few of us accumulate — or may really want to accumulate — great wealth. Few of us achieve imperishable fame through discovery of a cure for cancer or the like. Few of us can leave behind a Sistine Chapel, a great symphony or literature of high order, so that our inadequacies are forgiven in the glory of what our hands and minds have wrought. No — most of us go through our lives trying to do our best, our very best, with our family, our friends, our fellow man, our job or work, whatever it might be.

And while the reach usually exceeds the grasp, we prize above all else whatever approbation is accorded our efforts. If that reputation is suddenly destroyed, if we are made to appear to be frauds and hypocrites and moral lepers, we suffer a bankruptcy of spirit, an eclipse of hope, and in a sense we die before our time. The agony is great enough if the loss of reputation is deserved. But when it is a casualty of malicious lies, then we are victims of a very great crime. We may fight for vindication and almost achieve it — but never completely. The cloud is never fully dispelled. Even the passage of years brings no certain cure.

A poet long ago wrote:

The moving finger writes,
And having writ moves on,
Nor all your piety nor wit
Can call it back
Nor all your tears wash out a
word of it.

" A JOURNALIST IS A GRUMBLER, A CENSURER, A GIVER
OF ADVICE, A REGENT OF SOVEREIGNS, A TUTOR OF
NATIONS. FOUR HOSTILE NEWSPAPERS ARE MORE TO BE
FEARED THAN A THOUSAND BAYONETS."

----Napoleon Bonaparte

T H E M E D I A

Politicians don't want editorials. They want appointments.

Better to lose a battle than to lose the advantage of the free press.
-----William A. Borah.

The most truthful part of a newspaper is the advertisements.

Newspaper editors are men who separate the wheat from the chaff and then print the chaff.
-----Adlai Stevenson.

Never lose your temper with the print media. Remember, they roll the presses every day.

Without honest and fair newspapers there would be no Democracy.

Newspapers are the educators of the common people.
-----Theodore Parker.

Every editor of newspapers pays tribute to the Devil.
-----LaFontaine.

Newspapermen are fine companions---then they print the story.

The political cemeteries are filled with corrupt pols who were exposed by dedicated newspapermen.

When you are with a news reporter, don't say "Yes," and don't say "No." Just nod your head and he can't misquote you.
-----Zimmerman.

The Press, important as is its office, is but the servant of the human intellect, and its ministry is for good or evil, according to the character of those who direct it.
-----Bryant.

In the long, fierce struggle for freedom of opinion, the Press, like the Church, counted its martyrs by thousands.
-----Garfield.

Good government raises hell with editorial writers.

The one function that TV news performs very well is that when there is no news we give it to you with the same emphasis as if there was news.
-----David Brinkley.

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the Press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.
-----Thomas Jefferson.

Bad news has the wings of a swallow. Good news walks on crutches.

A newspaper, like a theatre, must mainly owe its continuance in life to the fact it pleases many persons.

It is a newspaper's duty to print the news and raise hell.
-----Chicago Times, 1861.

Where the hell do you think we'd be if we let the editorial writers run the country.
-----Gifford.

Tilford Moots wuz over t' th' poor farm th' other day t' see an ole friend that used t' publish a newspaper that pleased ever'body.
-----Kin Hubbard.

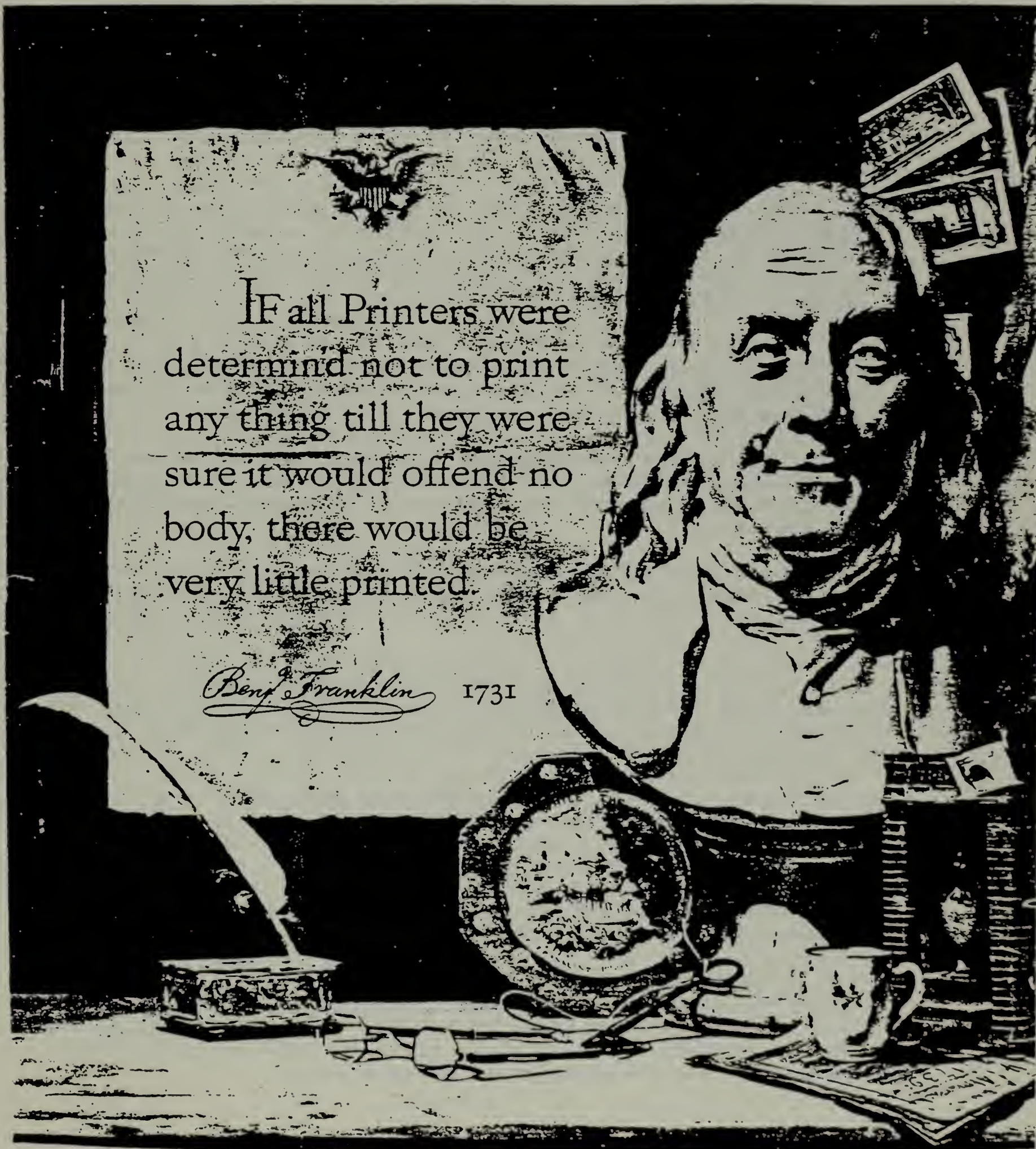
POST

A Fighting Man's Own Story,
**MY BATTLES IN
WAR AND PEACE**

By Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway

IF all Printers were
determin'd not to print
any thing till they were
sure it would offend no
body, there would be
very little printed.

Ben Franklin 1731



"THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PRESS"

An Address

By

Richard C. Steele
President Worcester Telegram & Gazette
April 3, 1974

The American press today is in a somewhat ambivalent position.

There are those who feel that the press is a scoundrel, continually drumming away on a destructive beat, eroding the stature of the presidency by scolding, carping, irresponsible tactics aimed solely at bringing President Nixon down and out with no regard for the consequences.

On the other side are readers who feel the press is not doing enough to expose the "rascal". They contend he should be tried and convicted in the media and forced to his knees in resignation.

This is a highly charged emotional matter, as well it should be. Americans are uncertain of the Presidency, of Congress, of the media. As a matter of fact, many are uncertain of themselves.

In an atmosphere such as this, a responsible press is needed more than ever before in the history of this great Republic.

So when I face a distinguished audience such as yourselves and particularly a captive audience..... it is a great temptation to make a speech about freedom of the press, not as it concerns me, but as it affects your right to know as citizens.

Well, I will not disappoint you entirely. I will comment very briefly about the freedom of the press.... but only as an introduction to a topic which I consider equally important, the responsibility of the press.

The founders of our system of government had a high regard for the concept of freedom of the press.

Thomas Jefferson wrote a Constitutional guarantee of press freedoms into the First Amendment of the Constitution, not to protect newspapers or to make life easy for publishers, but to establish the people's right to know and to protect them from the abuse of power by government.

It was Jefferson who said: "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter."

It is as true today as it was in 1789 that the press has an obligation to you to report the news without fear or favor, and to furnish that check on government which no constitution has ever been able to provide.

Today, the press is under widespread and severe attack from many different sources. Are you aware that reporters are being thrown into jail today for protecting their confidential sources of news? This should be a matter of deep concern to you, for if a newsman cannot protect a source of news, very soon there will be no news sources left. And when that happens, you, the public, are the biggest loser, for your right to know is seriously impaired.

Another form of harassment that is rapidly gaining momentum is the use of subpoenas which hamper the press in the performance of its duties. Recently, in Chicago, one man sued another for selling him a fake Stradivarius violin. Because the story was printed in the Chicago Tribune, one of the parties subpoenaed the managing editor to testify as a witness. This would be ridiculous if it were not for the serious and far-reaching implications involved.

If editors can be compelled to make frequent court appearances at the caprice of some litigant or government agency, those same editors won't have much time left to get out a good newspaper for you.

I could take up the better part of an afternoon describing to you specific incidents which threaten your right to know but I believe that, as in all of life, there is another side of the coin. Freedom of the press is only one side of the coin the other side concerns the responsibilities of the press. When I say the press, I mean it in the broad sense to include radio, television and magazines as well as newspapers.

There is nothing in the Constitution concerning responsibilities of the press; it is not a subject that we hear much about. I address myself to the subject today for two reasons: first, because I firmly believe that freedom of the press carries with it a responsibility equal to that of freedom. And second, because I feel that some members of the press do not always pay as much attention to their responsibilities as they should.

On occasion, a certain few columnists and newscasters have abandoned their responsibilities completely. In their "run for the roses" they become so impressed with their own importance they forgot the very rudiments of their job. It reminds us of the engineers who found themselves so up to their hips in alligators they forgot their original assignment was to drain the swamp.

The press today has become more conscious than ever about its role in society, and it is examining itself more closely as to how well it is fulfilling its responsibilities. As time goes on, I think you will hear a great deal more about this subject. What, then, are the responsibilities of a free press? What is the other side of the coin?

The first responsibility is to exercise good news judgment in reporting those events which are, in fact, news... and that's not as easy as it sounds. At the Telegram and Gazette, for example, hundreds of thousands of words flow into our newsroom every day from local and regional reporters, from our Boston and Washington bureaus, from the Associated Press, United Press International, New York Times News Service and several other major and minor news networks.

It is a physical impossibility in any single day to print all the news that happens everywhere. And even if we did, you would not be able to lift the newspaper, much less read it. So the press must make the decision as to what stories will be reported, how prominently they will be displayed, and how much space will be allotted to each.

We call this news judgment and it must often be exercised without the luxury of time. On a breaking story, such as an airline crash at Logan or a major fire in Worcester, an editor must make scores of split-second decisions, keeping one eye on the clock at all times. Even while the news is breaking, newspapers must still be printed, they must still be distributed to all parts of the city and suburbs, and they must still be delivered to your doorstep on time.

Another responsibility of the press is to be intelligent, in fact, astute. We live in a very complex society it is the computer age, the jet age, the space age. People are much more sophisticated, much smarter, and much better informed than before.

The press cannot hope to function in such an environment unless it can continue to attract its share of very bright young people. To serve the public adequately in today's complex society, the press must be intelligently informed about everything from new antitrust legislation to the care and feeding of pre-mature infants. Therefore, it must be staffed with

intelligent people who truly understand and are informed about the problems of the complex world of ours.

Another important responsibility of the press is to be accurate in what it reports ... whether it is the spelling of a name of an auto victim or reporting the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts or in the State Legislature.

Accuracy is a must in reporting. No matter how entertaining a story might be, if the press is sloppy with its facts it is not discharging one of its cardinal obligations to tell it like it is. If it is not accurate, the press will suffer ultimately, because it will not be believed.

Mark Twain, in his reporting days, was instructed by an editor never to state anything as a fact that he could not verify from personal knowledge. Sent out to cover an important social event soon afterward, he turned in the following story:

"A woman giving the name of Mrs. James Jones, who is reported to be one of the society leaders of the city, is said to have given what was purported to be a party yesterday to a number of alleged ladies. The hostess claims to be the wife of a reputed attorney."

The press must also be interesting and articulate. It must report simply and clearly, so that the busy reader can quickly grasp what is being reported. But it must not be dull, or boring, or bland. No reporter should ever color the facts with his own opinions, but he is not barred from using colorful language to attract and hold the interest of readers.

An important part of being interesting is the manner in which the news is packaged. It must be presented in an appealing manner.... and this involves all the techniques of modern graphics, design, page makeup, choice of pictures, and even type sizes and styles.

A newspaper must be organized in such a way that it is easy for you to read and to find what you want, whether it is the editorial page or the Charlie Brown comic strip.

Perhaps most importantly, it is the responsibility of the press to be fair and I prefer the word fair to objective. We are all influenced by our background and our personal interests and we all have our own opinions and our own biases. While it is impossible for any of us to be completely objective, we can always try to be fair. Fairness

may well be the storm center of the 70's. Government agencies continue jockeying to regulate the press by means of so-called "fairness doctrines". And, of course, you know who would concoct the rules of such doctrines. It would not be the public, nor would it be the press. Government agencies would sit as prosecutor, judge and jury to determine what is fair.

Personally, I believe it is much safer to leave this decision in your hands, rather than in the government's. Every responsible representative of the press agonizes about fairness, and I would be the first to agree that we are not always fair, no matter how much we would always like to be.

No organization that is administered by people is entirely fair, and I believe no such one exists. This is true of government. It is also true of business, sports, and, indeed, every activity of man where an absolute answer cannot be popped mathematically out of a computer. Even if fairness could be computerized, I'm sure that there would always be someone who would claim that the computer blew it and demand a correction.

Fairness also tends to be influenced by the eye of the beholder. What one person considers to be an eminently fair presentation, another regards as biased and slanted. Nevertheless, our obligation to you is clear..... we must strive for total fairness at all times and always try to tell all sides.

At the Telegram and Gazette, we try to publish a newspaper that reflects all points of view, so that the sum total, on balance is a fair presentation of the events of the day. If we are not fair on any given story or news analysis, it is simply because we are human and fallible.

Another major responsibility of the press is what I call being a good citizen. By that I mean that our job does not begin and end merely with reporting the news. Nor can we sit snugly in our ivory tower and be content merely to criticize and condemn those things we find wrong in today's society. The press must get involved.... and provide the means to help others get involved. It must initiate and support positive programs to help build a better community, a better state, a better nation. Only by such positive action does the press fully discharge its responsibility to the community which it serves.

Finally, the one tie that binds all the responsibilities of the press together is integrity. The motives of the press must always be the highest. Freedom of the press does not allow the luxury of placing self-interest or personal desires above that which is right.

The press does for you what you would do for yourself if you had the time and resources. We are your representatives at hearings, meetings, at trials, in legislatures and in Congress. We investigate for you. We dig and expose wrongdoing for you. And if we are to furnish that check on government which no constitution has been able to provide, we must ourselves be beyond reproach. Without integrity, the press has no self-respect.... and without self-respect, we have no free press.

As you can see, the press has a very easy job. All we must do is exercise responsible news judgment, be intelligent and accurate, and be interesting and articulate. We must package the news attractively, be fair to all men, and be a good citizen. And the press must retain its integrity at all times.

The press has all these responsibilities.... every day of the week, every week of the year.

Does the press make mistakes? Of course, it does. No one is infallible. The every day miracle is that the press makes so few mistakes.

The news is reported and edited by human beings and handled with such incredible speed that some errors are bound to occur. We will never be perfect but we will always keep trying for perfection. With very few exceptions, the press is mindful of its responsibilities as it is of its guaranteed freedom.

We are well aware that if the press favors freedom over responsibility we betray the trust placed in us by the First Amendment....and, ultimately, we betray ourselves.

YOU MAY FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE SOME OF THE TIME
AND SOME OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME, BUT YOU
CANNOT FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME.

---Abraham Lincoln

THE CONSTITUENTS WRITE

Dear Senator H-----:

I wish to inform you that I am a citizen of Berkshire County and that I am having a hard time paying my taxes. My present financial condition is due to the effect of Federal Laws, State Laws, County Laws, Town Laws and City Laws, Corporation Laws, By-Laws, In-Laws and thousands of other Laws, including legislative outlaws. Altogether they have come down hard on me as well as an unsuspecting public.

Through these various laws and their perpetrators I have been held up, held down, sat on, walked on, flattened, squeezed, knocked sideways and log-rolled until I don't know what I am, who I am, or where I am.

These dam laws compel me to pay a sales tax, automobile tax, gas tax, corporation tax, real estate tax, personal tax, capital tax, cigarette tax, water tax, dog tax, income tax, bank tax, and a bunch of other taxes I don't even know about and which sneak up on me when I'm not looking. The only tax I don't mind paying is the liquor tax for at least a few drinks will make me forget my troubles.

In addition I am requested to contribute to every society and organization, including political candidates who promise to take the load off my back, but who only make it worse. I don't mind the Red Cross, the Blue Cross, the White Cross, but its the political Double Cross that gets me down.

The government has so governed my business that I don't know who the hell owns it. I am suspected, expected, inspected, disrespected, examined, re-examined, charged, countercharged, commanded, compelled, required, demanded until all I know is that I am supposed to provide an inexhaustible supply of money to support every crackpot scheme congressmen and legislators can dream up. Because I resist sometimes, I am picketed, fined, discussed, boycotted, talked about, lied about, held up, held down, threatened, abused, dispised and buffeted until I am almost ruined financially and mentally.

The only reason I am clinging to life at all is to see what the hell is going to happen next in Massachusetts.

And what is going to happen is that I am going to be a candidate for your job in the State Senate. If I make it (and it will be a miracle for a businessman), it will give me a chance to get on the inside and find out who the hell is making it tough for me.

Respectfully,

Dear Senator G-----:

Why do you vote for everything I'm against and against everything I'm for?

Yours truly

Dear Senator:

I heard your speech on the radio last night and read it again in the newspapers today.

Believe me, you're no idiot. I am, for ever having voted for you.

Honestly,

Edgar Jones.

Dear Representative:

Is the age requirement the only one to serve in the Massachusetts Legislature, or do you also have to know how to read and write?

Sincerely,

Oscar Peterson.

Dear Senator:

I want to thank you for your efforts in resolving my problem with the Department of Public Utilities.

Gratefully,

Samuel Grossman.

P. S. I heard you were having a fund raiser. I would have contributed but I have already sealed the envelope.

Dear Representative:

I am looking for a job in politics. I never stole anything in my life and all I'm looking for is a chance.

Yours truly,

Robert Greeley.

Dear Senator:

Please run again. I want to have the privilege of voting against you.

Faithfully,

Carolyn Amberg

"THE GERRYMANDER"



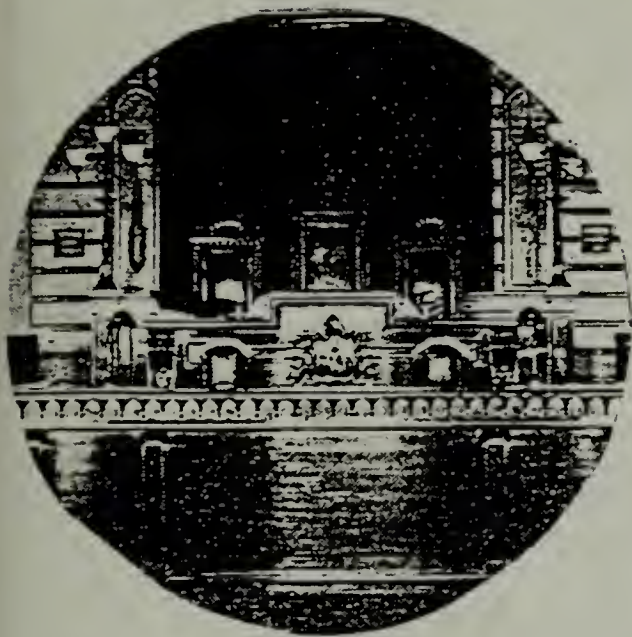
Reshaping of House and Senate districts is an ancient legislative device as old as Representative Government itself. The name "Gerrymander" was coined to apply to a Senatorial district in Essex County as it was set up in 1812.

Powerful Senate forces which desired to obtain control of their chamber effectively redistricted the entire state. After Governor Elbridge Gerry signed the bill, 29 of his party's candidates were elected to the State Senate as against 11 of the opposite party, although they had lost the popular vote.

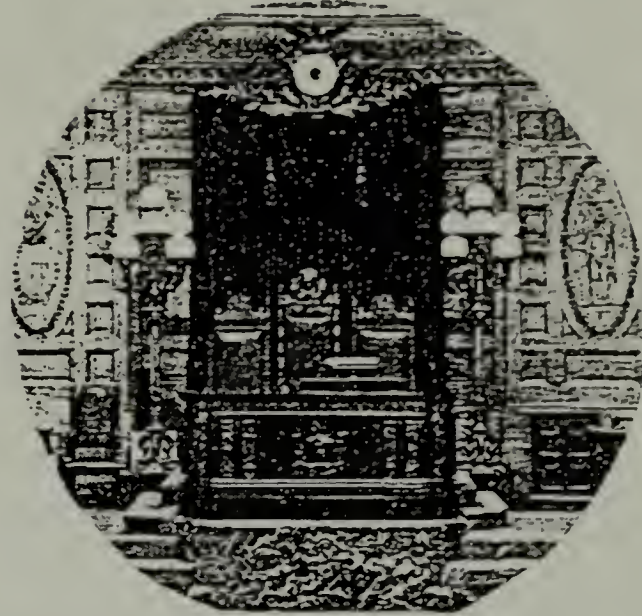
A political cartoonist drew the Essex District to look like a Salamander and quickly called it a new species of monster - "The Gerrymander" - as a slap at Governor Gerry who was blamed for the entire procedure.

The word "Gerrymander" is still used throughout the nation whenever redistricting is undertaken which gives disproportional electoral advantage to the majority over the minority.

LEADERSHIP....



THE BIG PRIZE



By

Senator John F. Parker

The word "SPEAKER" first comes into play in Massachusetts, according to Legislative Manual records in the year 1644 when William Hawthorne was elected by the House of Deputies as the "Speaker."

By electing a "Speaker" the Deputies were installing a leadership person---one who would preside over the four or five legislative sessions held each year and who would speak for the House whenever the occasion demanded.

In those early years of the 1600's the Speakership became somewhat of a revolving door. The early Deputies passed it around among themselves, mostly for a year only and then on to somebody else. The job was either "a-pain-in-the-neck" or too time-consuming or without glory because nobody held onto it for too long.

From 1644 to 1686 no one held the job of Speaker for more than two consecutive years. In that span of 42 years, however, William Hawthorne held the Speakership for six spread-out years in a period from 1644 to 1661. He was either a glutton for punishment or nobody else wanted the job.

Richard Russell was Speaker on four different occasions over a 10-year span. Thomas Clarke gave it four terms in 10 years and others held the Speakership two or three terms, but widely spaced. There was no long-time Speakership run in the early years when about everything the Deputies enacted into law after 1692 the King-appointed Governor could veto including, after 1726, the choice of the Speaker, which made the job of Speaker an unhappy chore.

During the inter-Charter period when the House of Deputies adjourned in 1686 and did not convene again until 1689 there was no Speaker. When the boys got back to business again they continued the pattern for the Speaker of "in-a-year-and-then-out."

When the Second Colony Charter went into effect in 1692, the Speakership continued revolving with Deputies holding the position for one or two years and then to the back bench. John Burrill, who had been Speaker in 1707, broke the ice on longevity by holding the Speakership for nine years from 1711-1720. Elisha Cooke replaced Burrill but lasted only a year.

Thomas Cushing was Speaker in 1742-1746. Twenty years later his son Thomas Cushing became Speaker from 1766-1774.

The first Speaker to practically own the job was John Quincy, who was elected in 1729 and wielded the gavel for the next 12 years---a record never equalled.

John Hancock was the last Speaker before the New Massachusetts Constitution was adopted during the Revolution in 1780.

Legislators Elected For One-Year Terms

Under the new Massachusetts Constitution, the Speakership was first given to Caleb Davis who resigned after a two-year stint and then no one held the position for more than two years until Revolutionary War General David Cobb took it on for four years, 1789-1793. Edward Robbins held the Speakership over a nine-year span, 1793-1802. Thomas Bigelow held the Speakership for three years, 1808-1810, stepped down, came back in 1812 and presided over the House until 1820, a combined total of 11 years which appears to be a record under the Constitution.

It must be remembered that the office of legislator in the old days and up until 1920 was for a one-year elected term. This required around-the-clock campaigning for the Speakership, hence there was a large turnover. Mostly what an old-time legislator could expect as Speaker was to hold the job for a year or two and then be compelled to give way, often reluctantly, to another ambitious politician.

Two-Year Terms Commenced in 1920's

Benjamin Loring Young, a highly competent legislator, active in budget reform, was the first Speaker under the two-year elected term Constitutional amendment and he held the position for four years.

Since then Leverett Saltonstall was Speaker for eight years, 1929-1936; John Thompson was Speaker for six tumultuous years, 1958-1964; David Bartley was Speaker from 1969-1975, a period of 6½ years, and then more recently Speaker Thomas McGee was on the rostrum from 1975 through 1984, some nine years and the longest term as Speaker since Thomas Bigelow's combined service of 11 years in the early 1800's.

The State Senate

As the newest arm of Government under the Massachusetts Constitution the State Senate organized on its first assembly date, Wednesday, October 25, 1780, and has been in continuous operation over since with a never-changed complement of 40 senators.

Thomas Cushing, one of the strong Revolutionary War voices against the British, was the Senate's first President, and over the first years some of Massachusetts finest men of the Revolution were elected to the Senate Presidency. Names such as Samuel Adams, spark-plug of the Revolution, Samuel Phillips, who founded Phillips Academy, David Cobb, an aide to General Washington, Harrison Gray Otis and many others honored the rostrum as Presidents of the State Senate. Horace Mann did his greatest work for education as President of the Senate in 1836-1837.

In any event, no matter the honor, glory and hard work, very few of the early Senate Presidents hung in there too long. Scarcely a Senate President held the gavel for more than one, two or three years over the first 150 years. The exceptions on longevity were Samuel Phillips who served about 12 years as President, up to 1801. For a period of 10 years also, John Phillips was President from 1813-1823.

When the State Senate went 20-20 in the election of 1948, the Presidency was divided, one year each for Republican Harris S. Richardson and one year for Democrat Chester Dolan.

In recent years, service as Senate President has extended itself. Richard Furbush was President for six years, 1951-1956. John E. Powers held the Senate rostrum as President for nearly six more years, 1959-1964, resigning for a court appointment. Maurice Donahue compiled another six years as President, 1964-1970 before Kevin Harrington took over the President's gavel and served for the next almost eight years, 1970-1978---a modern record of Senate Presidential service.

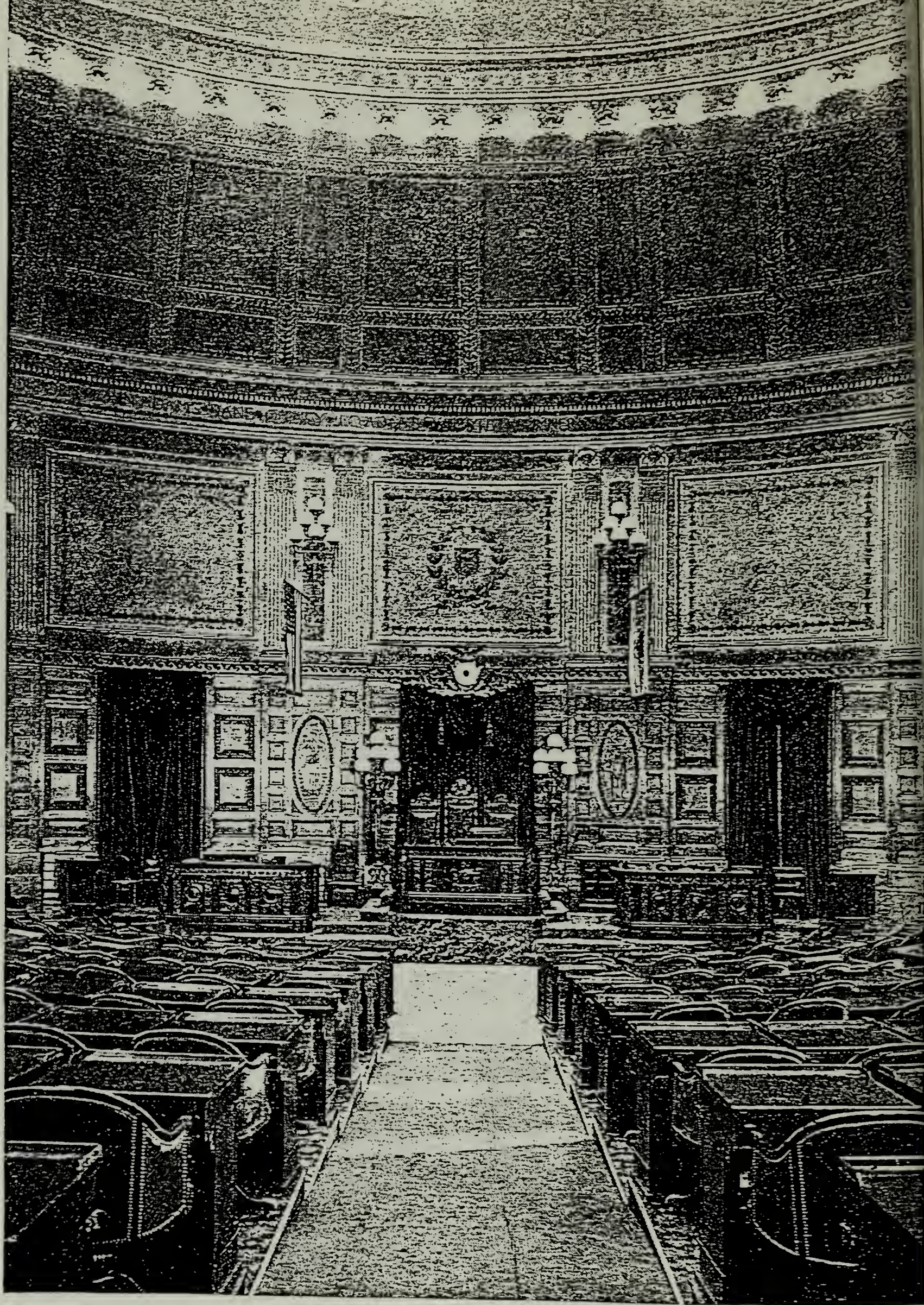
William M. Bulger is the current President of the Senate having been elected on July 31, 1978 following the resignation of Kevin Harrington who was leaving the Senate at the end of the year.

300 or More Legislators

Have Served as House-Senate Presiding Officers

Since William Hawthorne was first elected House Speaker in 1644, there have been under various early charters and the Constitution itself more than 220 individuals who have served as House Speaker up to and including the present Speaker George Keverian.

The Senate, which did not exist as such before the Constitution, has produced nearly 90 different individuals who



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE CHAMBER
1930

have wielded the gavel since Thomas Cushing took the first oath of office in 1780.

Leadership Battles Often Intense and Bloody

Someone once said, "The Way of the Leader Is Hard" and in many cases of the House Speaker and Senate President this statement has been true. Noting the roster of Speakers and Presidents in the Legislative Manual gives one no indication of the bitter and combative struggles that took place for the leadership down through the years.

Unfortunately, much historical data is not available concerning the ongoing struggles of men to the highest posts in the General court. No particular record was ever kept of the personal and political battles for the Speakership and Presidency. Much of the material died with each man's own aspiration, his success or failure.

Disappointments, ecstasy, bitterness, sniping, back-biting, jealousy, blind ambition, reward, raw guts, toughness, luck, aggressiveness, cut-throating, power-madness, double-crossing, indecision, courage, shallowness, loftiness, depth of purpose, distrust, integrity, high-mindedness, dedication and other human traits of strength or weakness have all had their play as the many Speakers and Presidents along with Majority and Minority Leaders and Committee Chairmen have gone about their tasks in leadership roles.

Dealing as they do with every type of ego---including their own---leaders often find that theirs is no primrose path and their lofty ambitions are often derailed by a militant House or Senate membership. It is one of the risks of being a leader.

Pledged Votes For Leadership Posts

No matter how nice a person is and what his record may be, if he or she is running for Speaker or Senate President, a candidate must go the pledge route. If he depends on verbal promises, he may well be gone, for legislative support is unreliable. There is only one way to go to garner the leadership votes - have fellow legislators sign a pledge card stating that they will vote for you.

This method is as old as the Legislature itself and permits a presiding officer candidate to keep a tally who is for, who isn't. Some legislators refuse to sign pledge cards and play the waiting game. Others sign only if they get something like a leadership post, chairmanship or favored committee assignments. All the human emotions of hate, love, greed, selfishness, ambition, game-playing, positioning, revenge, jealousy, fickleness, etc., are the undercurrents of a fight for the Speakership or Senate Presidency.

During a battle for the gavel in either branch, candidates walk on thin ice, never knowing when or where it will break

through and drown them. The least little slight can result in the withdrawal of a pledge. The biggest promises are generally made when the vote is close and both sides pull out all the stops. It becomes an auction block, but the name of the game is "hell-or-high-water, win the prize."

Many Leaders Have Moved Massachusetts to Better Days

In every period of time back over the past 360 years, highly principled and "weather-the-storm" legislative leaders have moved the Commonwealth through some hard and angry days and difficult times. The record is clear in that regard.

Often a Governor takes credit for whatever the issue, but were it not for the courage and assistance of Speakers, Presidents, Majority and Minority Leaders, followed by votes of membership, much of Massachusetts pride in leading the nation in concern for its citizens would never have come about.

Speaker Michael Skerry said it all some 30 years ago when asked about a proposal which the Governor had sent to the Legislature. Said Skerry: "The Governor Proposes, the Legislature Disposes." What Skerry was saying was that no matter the program the Governor can't make it work without a cooperative Legislature and the confidence and understanding of the legislative leaders---along with the votes.

This is the power and authority of the General Court in its relationship with the Governor. When there is cooperation between the Executive and the Speaker and Senate President, many good things happen. If there are ill feelings---as often is the case---nothing much gets done until the road is smoothed ag

Bitterness and friction between Governors and legislative leaders is an on-going game on Beacon Hill and always has been. Despite this many Speakers and Senate Presidents have on their own proposed legislation for the public good and have drawn the Governor into the action along the way. When there is a strong-willed person in the Governor's office and a strong-willed Speaker and Senate President, the clashes are frequent and provide grist for the mills of the press---which loves contention and strife.

House of 745 Members Tough to Deal With

There is no question that down through the decades leadership fights have been acrimonious, bloody and bitter. Old roll call records, rules fights, mad-house caucuses, parliamentary maneuvers, partisanship and wild oratory proves that.

With a House of 745 members in the early 1800's loaded with red-neck farmers and assorted artisans, lawyers, etc., along with a number of splinter parties, one can just imagine how contentious the battles must have been for the Speakership. Squeezing a large number of Representatives into the present Senate Chamber---which was the old House Chamber---must have

been quite a feat and brutally hot. To preside over such bedlam must have tried the patience of many Speakers. The breaking of gavels in an effort to maintain order was commonplace.

If a man became Speaker in those rough-and-tumble old days, he apparently earned it, for turbulence was the order of the day.

Control of House and Senate Big Task

Winning the job of Speaker or President was and is only half the battle. The rest is to keep harmony, trust and discipline operating at a high level. It has never been easy to control the dissidents who somehow seem to sprout in every legislative session. Every individual legislator has his own agenda and often needs the Speaker or President to help get it through. These leaders must decide what is good and what is bad and exercise control and judgment in handling legislators' requests and demands. They daily deal with grumblers, complainers, angle-shooters, demagogues, committee chairmen, their own leadership team, the public, etc.

A Speaker and President not only must deal with the mavericks in his own party---which can often be tougher than the opposition party---but he knows that the Minority Party is working every day to become the majority, difficult as that may be. Each day the minority challenges legislation, offers amendments, rails against the leadership and tries to point out the error of the Speaker's ways and the President's directions.

Madcap Antics Part of Process

Then too there are the emotional debates. A record of the tumultuous debates of the past two centuries alone would fill several volumes. When the electricity is evident, nothing can compare with a floor debate on a powerful issue and the actions of legislators are often incredible.

In the long ago it was nothing for a legislator to mount his desk and thunder at the Speaker or an opponent. Old Ben Butler when he was a House member once threatened to knife the House Speaker over a ruling that went against his views. A few years ago in order to gain attention from the rostrum a House member dropped his pants. Gangs of Legislators have swarmed the rostrum at times screaming and threatening the Speaker because of an unpopular ruling. Personal arguments galore have broken out at the rostrum. Once in the Senate, the President dropped the gavel and followed an angry Senator across the hall for a fistfight which was broken up by cooler heads.

Back in the late 1800's the entire House delegation of Democrats walked out in protest to a ruling of the chair. Only a few years ago Senate Republicans did likewise over a redistricting measure. In both cases, there was pandemonium.

"Seating," "Naming" Controlling Rules in General Court

There have been times in the Senate and House where bedlam and near anarchy have taken over. Defiance of the chair and disorderly conduct have often tried the patience of presiding officers. When a member engages in abusive language or violates the decorum of the chamber, the presiding officer can reach for two rules if the offender does not retract his abusive language or otherwise control his conduct.

The chair can "seat" the member by merely stating, "the Senator from Suffolk, etc., will be seated." This is the lesser degree of punishment. He is barred from further debate of the issue before the body, but he may vote on the issue.

When a legislator is "named" his case is turned over to a committee which tries to persuade him to make an apology. Until he does he is precluded from any share of the business in the chamber. Down through the years both these rules have been used, but not extensively. Usually a presiding officer takes many hard shots or allows great latitude before calling on these rules to control the recalcitrant member.

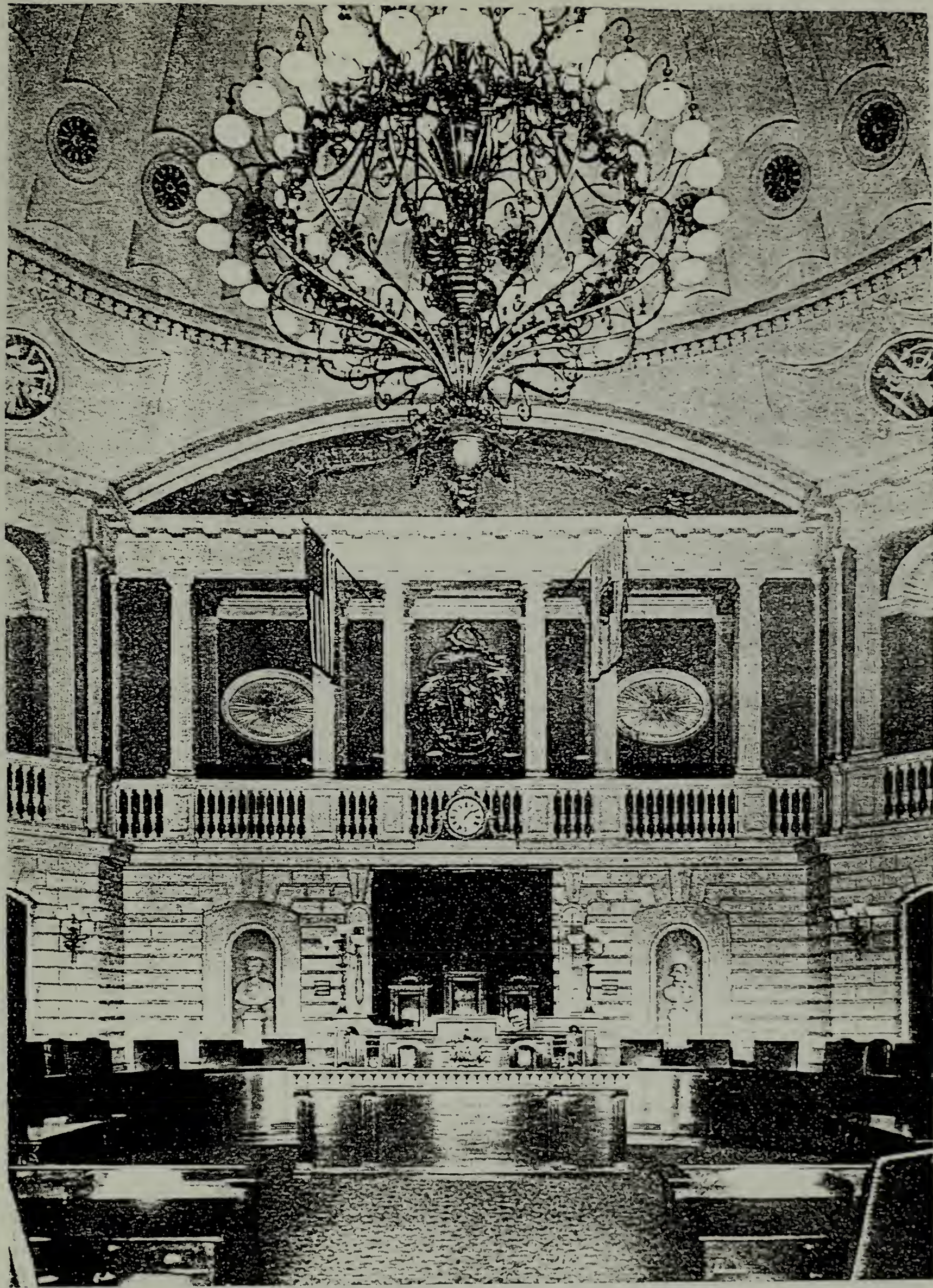
Expulsion of members because of disruption, corruption or dereliction of responsibility has also taken place in both chambers. Removal of a member is always an ugly scene and it leaves deep scars on the legislative institution.

Dealing With Members

At any time in the history of Massachusetts the Speakership or Senate Presidency is a strong man's job. Forever under constant strain in dealing with members, the press, the public and what not, only persons of balance, patience and good-will have survived the ordeal. A short-term Presidency or Speakership does not give the opposition much time to "fight the chair." It is the longer term Speakerships and Presidencies that have generated the internal and external opposition, often to the degree of open rebellion and debilitating criticism from mavericks, the minority, interest groups, the Press and whatever.

At all times, in order to maintain a winning balance, the presiding officers must make a little more than half the Senate and House happy. In other words, they must at all times maintain a majority or the job can be gone. At any time a move can be made to vacate the chair and has been.

That is why the Speaker's office and the President's chambers have an in and out flow of legislators. Here are where many of the deals are cut and where legislators unlimber their needs and frustrations and their personal problems. One former House Speaker stated a number of years ago that after a day of listening to the pleadings, problems and complaints of legislators, he felt like a priest. "After three years on this job," the Speaker mused, "like a priest, there isn't anything I haven't heard."



INTERIOR OF THE SENATE CHAMBER
1930.

There is no question that many presiding officers in both branches have walked through fire for fellow legislators, bailing them out of bad situations and coming to their defense against certain charges. There is an old saying at the State House, "When in trouble, see the Speaker."

Loyalty Important to Presiding Officers

In the privacy of their offices the Speaker and President listen to woes and complaints by the score and do what they can---depending on friendship and cooperation---to get bills through that legislators need. "It is a tough thing," stated a former Speaker, "to have someone knocking out your brains for the benefit of the Press and then find him in your office looking for campaign money, assistance on a local bill or making certain he doesn't lose out on redistricting. You help him out. He says 'thanks' and then goes out and continues to knock out your brains." Then he added with resignation, "I guess it goes with the territory. Nobody said this job was going to be easy."

On the other hand many Speakers and Presidents have had a dedicated and loyal leadership team around them---men and women who would go through hell for the presiding officer and who are willing to stand up and be counted when the chips are down. Many critics condemn this practice stating cynically that the leadership team must stand by the Speaker or President because they get extra pay.

However, that is not fully true. In the long ago when no one received extra pay and the only extra salaries were for the Speaker and President leadership loyalty among the majority was very high as it also was among the leadership posts in the minority, who also received no extra pay.

The Loyal Opposition

It might be said also that Minority Leaders in both branches have acted as Beacon lights for their members in whatever difficulties and troubles might beset them and usually keep the lines open to the Speaker and President. They try to maintain a climate of mutual respect, trust and understanding while still playing the role of "loyal opposition."

Being in the Minority is a thankless, frustrating job. The minority is often dubbed by the Press as the watchdogs and conscience of the institution. It scarcely wins a roll call, is long on oratory and indignation, but always short of the necessary votes to win the big ones. The power of the presiding officers sees to that.

Down through the years, Minority Leaders in both branches have had uneasy tenures. Almost without exception, House Minority Leaders over the past 38 years of Democratic rule have had to contend with up to a third of their membership actively or sullenly opposed to their leadership efforts,

demanding stronger and more effective opposition to majority rule. They must deal with "lost votes" to the opposition, "cross-party friendships," personal favor-seeking from the presiding officers and committee chairmen, "back scratching," petty jealousies., etc.

The Minority Leadership teams over the years have been easy targets for some legislators, members of the Press (others understand) who insist they are not trying hard enough to combat the opposition or that they are pussy-footing with the Majority leadership.

Most Minority Leaders come to understand that there are certain things one can do and others are beyond resolution. Simply banging ones head against the rostrum every day to gain a line or two in the Press or to satisfy critics who insist on condemnation of the Majority soon wears thin. Minority Leaders must wait their opportunities and make the most of them---a smart amendment, an embarrassing parliamentary move, a coalition, etc., are the tools of the Minority, along with solidarity. Crying wolf is only good for so long.

To expect full-scale legislative credit on certain bills is to expect much more than the Majority will allow. A review of the record will indicate that there has been little "good-for-the-Commonwealth" legislation enacted by Minority generation, hard as they try.

A Majority House Leader said it all a few years ago when he advised: "The Minority Leader and his cohorts just have to get it through their heads that they are not going to write the important legislation around this chamber."

Minority Leaders understand this and do the best they can notwithstanding criticism. When a certain House Minority Leader was condemned a number of years ago for what his detractors indicated was "non-combativeness," he angrily responded, "we haven't had a bill in here this year that was worth debating. What the hell do they want me to do, pull a gun and start shooting?"

Leadership Posts Often Led to Higher Office

With all the pitfalls of legislative leadership at all levels, it very often has its rewards. As an escalator, it has provided an opportunity for 10 or more former House Speakers, beginning with Levi Lincoln to reach the Governorship in 1825-1834 and to Christian Herter, the last House Speaker to reach the Governorship in 1953.

On the Senate side Samuel Adams, the fiery voice of the Revolution was Senate President in 1782 at age 60. In 1794 he became Governor until 1779 when at age 75 he stepped down. Since Sam Adams time only three or four Senate Presidents have made it to the Governor's chair including Calvin Coolidge in 1919 and the last being Frank G. Allen 65 years ago in 1921.

It must be pointed out however that many former Speakers and Senate Presidents rose to other political positions: Henry Wilson from the Senate Presidency to Vice President of the United States; Calvin Coolidge from the Presidency to Governor and on to the Presidency of the United States and many others to Congress, U.S. Senate, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General and the Judiciary to name a few.

There is no substantial record of Minority Leaders making it to higher elective office after their House-Senate service, with one or two possible exceptions.

Several former House Speakers later became Speakers of the National Congress, the last being "Tip" O'Neill who was Speaker of the Massachusetts House in 1948-1952.

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JOHN FORBES THOMPSON



GERARD FRANCIS DOHERTY



MICHAEL PAUL FEENEY



CORNELIUS F. KIERNAN

Thompson-Feeney-Kiernan Speakership Contest

Battle of the Century

In another section of this book is an article by Raymond Bridgman, ace State House writer and observer for 40 years. In his article written 91 years ago in 1894 Bridgman takes to task the selection process for Speaker and Senate President. Said Bridgman, "The contest for the chairs of the House and Senate is more in the dark. The contesting forces are more under cover. The methods used are more reprehensible. Threats of injury to business have been made by a candidate against men who he wanted to bring to support. Flattery and fear are equally available to compel support. Anything is held to be proper, if it only brings the votes for Speaker or President..."

There may have been some brutal battles for the House-Senate chairs in the long ago, but in modern times nothing can compare with the savage battle for the Speakership in 1963 involving John Thompson and the massive effort to oust him from the Speakership.

Thompson had become Speaker of the House in January, 1958, after the resignation of Speaker Michael Skerry, who left for a court clerkship. Thompson was as tough and hard-boiled as they come. A Legislator from Ludlow and a severely wounded

World War II veteran, Thompson was a throwback to the old "brass-knuckle" days of House leadership. He understood power and how to use it. He demanded loyalty and got it. He was a matchless orator of the old school---deadly in the cross-fire of debate, ever willing to take anyone on. He made no pretenses. He was what he was; "The Boss," "the Ruler of the Rostrum," "The Speaker." He was fast becoming a legend, despite a growing personal failing. He was dubbed "The Iron Duke," a sobriquet which told it all. John Thompson helped his friends and was merciless on his enemies---a developing roster of dissidents that grew with each passing session.

Enemies Go After "The Iron Duke"

John Forbes Thompson had been Speaker of the House for over five stormy years when a group of 17 Democratic legislators (from the outer circle) met in a Boston restaurant to discuss dumping the Duke from his lofty perch as Speaker. The conspirators, or "Young Turks" as they were called by the Press were led by Representative Gerard Doherty, new Chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

The meeting room reeked with hostility against Thompson. His gaveling tactics, parliamentary rulings and maneuvers, along with a whole range of other charges were bandied about the room. The concensus was unanimous: "Thompson has to go."

From that moment on there commenced one of the most savage and discordant periods in Legislative history. A power-struggle of enormous proportions was generating. The dissident Democrats selected as their candidate for the Speakership a highly respected long-time House member, Michael Paul Feeney, once a Thompson loyalist but now on the outs with the Speaker over his removal by Thompson as Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. The bitterness between Thompson and Feeney reached such a boiling point that on one occasion the Speaker ordered Feeney "seated" after Feeney complained that bills "had been whispered through."

When Thompson heard the news that a move was on to oust him he commented: "I expect to prevail in the Democratic caucus by at least 2-1 and I will receive additional support on the floor of the House from loyal Democrats who intend to abide by the decision of our party caucus."

From that point on the battle was joined and both sides headed for the telephones to pin down votes and to move about the chamber importuning fellow Legislators one way or the other. Thompson called in his IOU's which are always very considerable for any Speaker. He went after everyone he could, Republican and Democratic alike. The Doherty forces did likewise.

The Press was into the act banging away at Thompson. Back home certain Legislators were put against the wall by citizens who felt Thompson was too high-handed for the Speakership. Despite all the opposition and the charges against him, Thompson held on to a substantial number of votes for he had done a lot of favors.

Senator Kennedy - Governor-Elect Peabody Oppose Thompson

It was then that United States Senator Edward Kennedy stepped into the act, making no bones about the fact he would like to see Thompson get his walking papers. He believed Thompson was bad for the party.

The Kennedy opposition was tough enough for Thompson, but then he was on the receiving end of a double-whammy. Newly elected Governor Endicott Peabody jumped into the fray. Convinced he must help defeat Thompson, Peabody attended a dissident Democrat meeting at the State House which blew into all the papers with the headlines screaming "PEABODY STALLS THOMPSON." Never before in the history of the Commonwealth had an incoming Governor gone to such lengths to help unseat a legislative leader.

Concerning Governor-elect Peabody's history-breaking behavior, Speaker Thompson stated: "The Governor-elect has used poor judgment. There is and should be a definite separation of powers and this seems to have escaped the new Governor. He should learn the fundamentals before attempting to reform the commonwealth."

That did not stop Peabody. During the effort to round up votes against Thompson he lost seven pounds, and the night before the vote on the Speaker he and his staff worked until three in the morning on his inaugural address and all-out efforts to derail the Thompson Express.

Feeney's Candidacy Falters

When the Legislature went into session at 11 A.M. Wednesday, January 2, 1963, the chamber, galleries and corridors were alive with tension and electricity. Many had come to watch the "hanging" of John Thompson, while others "prayed" for his return to the Speakership. Still others came to watch the "fight." The Press was there en masse for as one writer put it, "How often do you get a story like this?"

It was declared that the winner of the Speakership would need 119 votes. Thompson claimed the numbers, but when the voting came at 3 o'clock in the afternoon after a raucous series of parliamentary maneuvers, speeches and dilatory tactics the first roll call indicated 90 votes for Thompson (29 votes short). Sidney Curtiss, the taciturn Republican Leader, who was taking heavy fire from his own troops, nevertheless garnered 88 votes with Feeney faltering at 44 votes. Cornelius Kiernan had 8 votes.

It was obvious that Feeney was not going to become Speaker and the "Stop Thompson" movement was in trouble. While Thompson did not have the votes at present he was in a good position to move some Republicans into his column. The longer the vote was delayed, the more Thompson could be in trouble.

The Feeney forces contended that in "stopping" Thompson on the first ballot they were setting the stage for someone to knock him out. That it was obvious it was not to be Feeney, was indicated when at best he was able to muster not more than 50 votes, a long way from victory.

Representative Kiernan the "Saviour?"

With no resolution of the Speakership battle after several roll calls, the hectic struggle was postponed one day until 10 A.M. Thursday, January 3, when it was expected the anti-Thompson forces would have enough votes to crush the embattled Speaker, who, though bloodied was unbowed.

The dissidents then tried to enlist as their candidate State Democratic Chairman Gerard Doherty. He said "No." Feeney got back into the fray, but a new direction was charted: Representative Cornelius Kiernan, a most able Legislator, also once a Thompson loyalist but now on his "enemies" list was the new choice. Among the Kiernan supporters was present Governor Michael Dukakis, one of the "young Turks" of the period and who had previously voted for Paul Menton.

From 10 o'clock in the morning until the final roll call at 9 P.M. 11 hours later, the hallowed old House Chamber rocked with charges and counter-charges. The oratory was emotional and super-charged. Thompson was accused of every "legislative digression" imaginable. His supporters came to his defense and countered every move at delay, with an amazing solidarity.

Republican Leader Sydney Curtiss Under Fire

Thompson was not the only leader under fire that day. Republican Floor Leader Sydney Curtiss was raked severely by some of his G.O.P. colleagues. Representative John M. Eaton (R) of Concord was particularly critical of Curtiss, roaring at the Republican Leader, "As the Republican Leader, it is incumbent upon you to let us know where you stand, for Thompson or against him?" Eaton charged Curtiss was too close to Thompson.

Minority Leader Curtiss never replied but continued to vote for himself on every roll call. The biting repartee of the G.O.P. minority against their leader drew frequent applause from the members and the gallery. Curtiss rode out the criticism silently.

Thompson Defense Speech Greatest on Record Calls Himself "Delightful Rogue."

When it became obvious to Speaker Thompson that attempts were being made to move the election to still another day (the third), he walked to the rostrum to tell his story.

As he looked out over the full House membership and up stairs at the jam-packed Press gallery and to the equally crowded galleries, Thompson nodded his head in the peculiar manner that was his and commenced to speak. Uproar and pandemonium disappeared, for be he friend or foe, everyone was aware that the man at the rostrum was a person of unusual oratorical talent. He was absolutely fearless and could cut and hack, cajole and be humorous, love and hate, convince and direct. In an age when harangue is mistaken for oratory, John Forbes Thompson was the last of a breed.

John Thompson was in the fight of his life and he knew it. His plea for an immediate vote on the Speakership was tinged with humor and sarcasm. He made a stinging denunciation of his opposition. With arms flailing, Thompson thundered charges of "blackmail,"---the offering of court clerkships, postmasterships and other jobs to compel votes to go against him.

"What is going on," roared Thompson, "is nothing more than outright blackmail."

With a twinkle he said, "Some people say I'm a rogue. If I am, I'm a delightful one."

Everybody, even Thompson's enemies, laughed. The Iron Duke was several times interrupted by sustained applause as he cut and slashed his opposition or made a humorous point.

At one point Thompson looked out at his principal adversary Representative Gerard Doherty and mocked, "You can inform the White House (the Kennedys to whom Doherty was close) that there is no need for concern for a postal deficit this year judging by the mailings that have been distributed against me.

The chamber roared in laughter.

Between hammer blows of caustic oratory the embattled Speaker needled the opposition. He charged his adversaries with every parliamentary crime in the book. "They want to keep the debate one-sided," he thundered. "Don't let them do it."

Thompson loyalists on the floor and in the galleries applauded approval of the Speaker's deadly words and his all-out assault on his detractors. It was a wild scene.

The Speaker flailed away at his opposition, condemning the Peabody-Kennedy bloc. Kennedy was rumored to be on his way home from a western trip to take charge of the opposition. Cried Thompson, "They want a bolt from Heaven in the form of a person or a telegram."

Thompson charged Peabody was openly interfering in the business of the Legislature. Then he said, "All I've got is myself."

Anything after Thompson's speech was anti-climatic. When he had ended his remarks, the Chamber burst into applause and cheering, drowning out the hisses and boos. Many of the Speaker's detractors praised the speech.

Representative Kiernan, now the opposition candidate, replacing Feeney, rose after Thompson and said that "Thompson is a very astute politician. He realizes he would be licked if a postponement is voted."

Capable as he was, Kiernan could not electrify the Chamber as did Thompson. His oratory was no match for the Speaker's.

Nearly 11 Hours of Debate Before Vote Taken

Thompson Wins by Five Votes

When the vote was taken at about 9 P.M., Thompson had 118 votes---five more than the 113 needed. Kiernan had 78, far off the pace. The Speaker had picked up 20 Republican votes and 7 dissident Democrats, who were originally anti-Thompson. Republicans deserted Floor Leader Curtiss going both ways and leaving him with 24 votes. It was the heavy Republican vote for Thompson that put him over the top.

The Chair announced the result of the vote as follows:

Whole number of votes	225
Necessary for a choice	113
John F. Thompson of Ludlow had	118
Cornelius F. Kiernan of Lowell had	78
Sidney Q. Curtiss of Sheffield had	24
Michael Paul Feeney of Boston had	3
Thomas F. Donohue of Woburn had	1
John T. Tynan of Boston had	1

And Mr. Thompson, having been declared elected, was conducted to the chair by a committee consisting of Messrs. Finnegan of Everett and Curtiss of Sheffield.

When the vote was announced and Thompson was declared the winner, the House Chamber went into bedlam. Thompson, who had put his winning votes together against incredible odds was cheered to the rafters. He mounted the rostrum and calmly said he was going to cooperate with everybody over the next couple of years, Doherty, the Governor, Kennedy, his opposition and whomever.

Thus ended the most dramatic and draining election for House Speaker probably ever held in the 200-year history of Massachusetts Constitutional government.

The Boston Globe in a next day article stated that Thompson gave the finest speech on the House floor. "Not that it was won there," the Globe stated, "It was won because Thompson has produced with his colleagues over the years."

Now, even 22 years later, whenever presiding officers are mentioned, Thompson's name leads the list of remembered Speakers. He was as he himself so-stated "a delightful rogue." He was rough-hewn and fearless. He was not called the "Iron Duke" for nothing.

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(continued)



PHILIP A. GRAHAM



JOHN E. POWERS



NEWLAND H. HOLMES

Graham-Holmes (Powers) President's Race
Bitter-Enders For Republicans

The Democrats have not been the only ones embroiled in party differences and battles for the Speakership or Senate Presidency. Down through the years of Republican General Court-rule, the G.O.P. has had its share of blood-letting in the race for the top leadership posts.

While in 1963 Republican support of Democrat John Thompson by 20 G.O.P. House members assured his election as Speaker, some years earlier in 1957 a Democratic move in the Senate to a Republican candidate assured his election by blocking out another Republican candidate the Democrats did not want to see in the President's chair.

Senator Philip Graham of the 3d Essex District was the victim of a major political coup engineered by Senate Democratic Minority Leader John E. Powers and which deprived the outspoken Graham of the Senate Presidency.

Graham had been elected to the State Senate in 1950 and no sooner had he taken his seat in the Upper Branch than he started tilting his lance at what he considered was wrong with the State government. Graham was a big man, well over six feet tall and weighing some 230 pounds - - - every inch of it righteous indignation against the so-called "sins" of the Democrats - - - and Republicans alike. A rock-'em, sock-'em old-school debator, Graham could be heard almost every afternoon on the floor of the Senate banging away at the growing Democratic strength and taking on Governor Dever and his political machine and anything else he felt was wrong.

Graham's favorite target was William Callahan, Chairman of the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority and former Public Works Commissioner. Graham called him the "Mahatma of the Macadam," and lashed out at his patronage system, which was all over the place pulling in Democrats and Republicans alike. Graham belted away at the Old Guard in his own party who once were called the "Revolving Republicans" because of their involvement in favors from Callahan, Dever and other Democrats.

Graham took on the growing disability pension system and finally managed to place the issue on the ballot for correction by the voters. A totally fearless man, gifted with the ability to ferret out Democratic misfeasance, non-feasance and malfeasance, Graham pounded relentlessly at a whole range of issues. His booming voice and debating skills intimidated most of the Democratic opposition with the exception of John E. Powers, who railed back at Graham at every turn. Powers was no slouch as a debator and between the two they took up a great deal of Senate time every afternoon going after each other.

Instead of a mutual respect growing between Powers and Graham, a deadly rancor developed because of the charges they hurled against each other and because of Powers's defense of the Dever Administration which was a red flag to Graham.

Graham's agenda was one day to be President of the Senate. With Democrats increasing their numbers in the Senate, Powers's agenda was exactly the same.

As time went on, Graham gathered under his umbrella a growing number of new Republican Senators, many of whom had run for office in opposition to the Senate Old Guard led by Senator Newland Holmes, a long-time veteran of Beacon Hill politics, both in the House and Senate. A fine man, Holmes nevertheless represented "go-along government" as Graham saw it and with Senate President Furbish, a fellow Republican, leaving after six years on the rostrum, both Graham and Holmes wanted to be President, as did Powers.

Republicans Hold Control of Senate
In 1957 By 2-Vote Margin, 21-19

The voters in the election of 1956 had divided the Senate by the narrowest of margins: 21 Republicans and 19 Democrats.

Despite Graham's one-man crusade against the Democrats and the extensive press coverage given his charges, the 1956 election results gave the Democrats an increase in membership as Powers worked the hustings, along with powerful Labor support to add Democratic strength to the Senate. Minority Leader Powers could taste the Presidency, but fell two short of the votes required to become the first Democrat in a hundred years to hold the gavel without a Division, as was the case a few years earlier when the Senate went 20-20. The presidency then was divided one year for the Republicans and one year for the Democrats.

While Powers had his 19 Democratic votes locked up for the Presidency, the situation on the Republican side was full of problems. Of the 21 Republican Senators, Graham had pledges

from 15. Holmes had a mere 6 --- a long way from the number required which with a full membership would be 21. It appeared that there was no way Holmes could ever win the Presidency, because the Graham forces to a man were opposed to him and Graham held a tight rein on his votes. He felt secure in the knowledge that the caucus would bind the Old Guard to the Graham group. No matter the differences, they reasoned, after the caucus vote everyone would stand together on the floor of the Senate and vote the caucus nominee which would be Graham.

The Holmes supporters, namely Senators Hedges, Lundgren, Olson, Bowker, Holmes himself, and Mahar would have no part of Graham. His charges against them were coming home to roost in their deep resentment of his tactics. Graham had burned them as well as the Democrats and they weren't about to reward the out-spoken Essex County Senator, whose favorite expression was, "They'll get theirs under the Harvest moon" (meaning election time).

On the other hand, Graham's other Republican supporters loved the man for his courage and willingness to take on unpopular causes.

As the days approached the January 2, 1957 convening of the State Senate, the Presidency situation was on dead center. Powers had his 19 Democratic votes locked safely in the barn in the face of rumors to the effect that there was no way the Old Guard Republicans were going to vote for him. They had been criticized enough for settling in with the Democrats. Graham had 15 votes. Holmes had 6 solid pledges and the stage was set for trouble as a candidate needed a majority of all Senators voting.

Neither Holmes Nor Graham Could Break G.O.P. Caucus

On January 2, 1957, opening ceremonies for the State Senate were scheduled for 11 o'clock but were delayed for 50 minutes as the Republicans in caucus battled back and forth over a Presidential nominee. The caucus vote, when finally taken, gave Graham 14 votes and Holmes 7.

Inasmuch as no one would bend and a compromise candidate was not suggested, down to the Senate chamber from an upstairs caucus room marched the Republican combatants through a battery of T.V. cameras and reporters nipping at them along the corridor.

Following the swearing-in of the members by a miffed Governor Christian A. Herter, who had to cool his heels in the Governor's office for almost an hour, the next order of business was the election of a President of the Senate.

As usual, when there is blood-letting, the chamber and galleries were packed solid. The tension could be cut with a knife. Everyone

was somber and uncertain as to what was going to happen. The Republicans had resolved nothing. Holmes people would not abide by the caucus vote.

When Senator Lundgren offered an order that four members be appointed by the Chair to collect, sort, and count the votes for President, Senator William Hays (a Graham supporter) proposed an amendment to do away with the secret ballot and that "each member present, in response to his name, shall arise and announce the name he wishes to vote for President."

Democratic Minority Leader John Powers attacked the amendment as a "radical change" and a "break from tradition." Hays countered that the election of a Senate President was public business and "our constituents are entitled to know where we stand."

Senator Hays's move for an open ballot was an obvious attempt by the Graham forces to smoke out the Holmes supporters and hopefully compel them as Republicans to vote for Graham, the caucus nominee by voice vote instead of secret ballot.

The move did not succeed for the Hays amendment was voted down on a tie vote of 20 - 20 and the order to proceed with a secret ballot was adopted.

A committee was appointed to collect , sort, and count the votes. They passed the ballot boxes around among their Senate colleagues, retired for the counting, and then Senator Lundgren, Chairman of the Committee reported to the Senate as follows:

Whole number of votes	40
Necessary for a choice	21
John E. Powers of Boston had	19
Philip A. Graham of Hamilton had	15
Newland H. Holmes of Weymouth had	6

And there was no choice.

The winner would have needed 21 votes out of the 40 who voted. Nobody had that many.

Before another ballot was ordered, Democratic Floor Leader Powers called for a recess. Bitterness, anger, and frustration were having their play in the minds of the Republicans as they trudged through the lobby and past the T.V. cameras and on to their caucus room on the fourth floor.

As the Democrats went off in another direction to their caucus room, the astute Democratic Floor Leader was rolling a plan over in his mind --- a way to settle the issue and deprive Philip Graham of the Presidency.

Powers Presents Proposal to Minority

No sooner were the Democrats in their caucus room than Powers unfolded his plan. Simply put, it would call on all Democrats to vote for Republican Newland Holmes. The combination of 19 Democrats and 6 Republicans would wipe out Graham and would not only give Holmes the Presidency but would put Powers and the Democrats in a favorable position with the new Republican President. It would be their votes that put him over the top and in addition here was a chance to defeat his arch rival Philip Graham.

After Powers presented his plan to his fellow Democrats, immediately four of them, Senators Fleming, Beades, Wall, and Hogan stated that they would have no part in voting for a Republican for President.

For an hour and a half in the Democratic caucus, Powers argued his case for the Democrats to vote for Holmes, stating that Holmes would do more for Governor Furcolo's program than Graham, and then too, this was a chance to prevent Graham from taking over the gavel. He pleaded that perhaps after a couple of ballots the Republicans might finally go for Graham and the consequences would not be good for the Democrats in committee assignments, etc. His persuasion was effective for eventually he had enough Democratic votes, who if they combined with the Republican votes, could elect Newland Holmes by one vote. He tallied the possible count as Holmes: 21, Graham 15, Powers 4. The victory would be a mix of 15 Democrats and 6 Republicans for a total of 21 out of the whole number of 40 who would be voting. The plan seemed letter perfect.

Somehow Powers learned that one of Holmes's 6 votes might be switching to Graham, a move that would change the whole picture. Without all of Holmes's votes, there would not be enough to win. They needed 21 out of 40 and they needed a perfect coup. If they didn't pull a surprise, then the plan would be exposed and all hell would break loose. The plan could work only if it was a secret and all democrats had promised to say nothing until ballots were cast.

Back on the Senate floor, Powers, still concerned with the information that a Holmes defector was going to Graham, decided to do something about it. He is reported to have cornered Senator Charlie Hogan, one of those who had indicated in the Democratic caucus he would not vote for a Republican under any circumstances. Powers reasoned with Hogan that he could help the situation by absenting himself from the Senate. He could just "take a walk" as the legislative parlance called it. If Graham gained a vote, it wouldn't do him any good if Hogan did not vote at all. Powers still would have 20 votes and that was a majority of 39. His 20 votes would be no good if 40 Senators voted and if one of Holmes's votes switched to Graham.

There is no record of agreement by Hogan to "take a walk." In the confusion of the moment, with restless galleries, the chamber loaded with with the press and Senators talking nervously or deep in their own thoughts, nobody bothered to count heads or to expect someone to absent himself from the voting. With 40 Senators present on the first balloting, it could be expected that the same 40 would respond to the second balloting.

Holmes Wins Presidency on Powers' Coup

The Graham forces were still hoping the Holmes people would fall in line as good Republicans and follow the overwhelming caucus vote in favor of Graham. It was felt that Holmes and his five other votes would be worn down by subsequent balloting. After all, public opinion was running strongly against the G.O.P. Old Guard and some were feeling the heat.

Finally, a secret ballot was ordered. Senator Harold Lundgren was still Chairman of the committee to collect, sort, and count the votes.

When the committee returned to the Senate, Lundgren announced the following bomb-shell news:

Whole number of votes	39
Necessary for a choice	20
Newland H. Holmes of Weymouth had	20
Philip A. Graham of Hamilton had	16
John E. Powers of Boston had	3

The vote total had a shattering effect as Lundgren announced it. Only 39 Senators had voted. Hogan had not voted, therefore to win the Presidency, the candidate needed only 20 votes and Holmes had them and was declared the President of the Senate.

Amid the roars of approval and disapproval, the ashen-faced Holmes rose in his place as the Chair announced a committee of two, Powers and Graham, to escort the new President to the rostrum. Graham sat in his seat for a moment, red-faced and shell-shocked. His supporters grumbled loudly around the chamber, but there was nothing that could be done. Bravely, Graham stood up and along with Powers conducted Holmes to the rostrum. Anyone else might have dropped dead.

It was all over. Democratic Floor Leader John E. Powers had engineered a brilliant coup. Against an overwhelming Republican caucus vote, Powers skillfully welded his own Democrats into a voting bloc and when the chips were down managed to lower by one the number needed for a choice and won the Presidency for a Republican who was not the caucus choice.

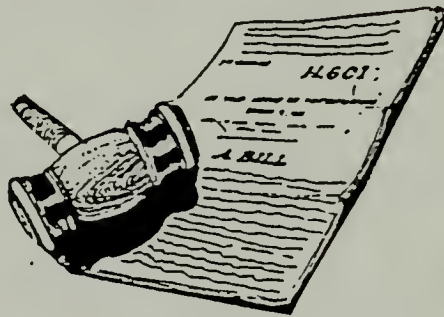
Holmes Presidential Victory Beginning of the End
For Republican Senate Power

Powers had calculated who was voting for who with delicate precision. On the first vote, Graham had 15 votes. The second ballot gave him 16 --- the one single vote Powers had worried about did go to Graham. Who it was nobody knew as the vote was secret. If 40 Senators had voted, Powers's plan would have exploded as he needed 21 votes out of 40. With one Republican less, he needed to prevent a Democrat from voting, which out of 39 votes would give him a majority if he could muster 20 votes. He did that and Newland Holmes became President of the Senate because of the manipulation by Democratic Floor Leader, John E. Powers.

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THOMAS WILLIAM MCGEE



GEORGE KEVERIAN

Thomas McGee - George Keverian Speakership Fight
Lasted 14 Months Before Resolution

Thomas McGee became Speaker of the Massachusetts House in 1975 after service as Democratic Majority Whip and Majority Leader. He held the job as Speaker longer than any other man in modern history---a total of 9½ years and during a period of time when there was great contention and strife in Massachusetts politics.

He was defeated for re-election to the Speakership in January, 1985 by his former Majority Leader, George Keverian, by a vote of 90-43 on the first and only ballot.

The defeat of Tommy McGee for re-election as Speaker was the first time in Massachusetts history that a sitting Speaker was turned out by his own party both in caucus and on the floor of the House as he sought to hold on to the Speaker's gavel.

In everything, there is a tale and the tale of the McGee-Keverian battle for the Speakership tells the story of the strengths, weaknesses, friendships, enemies and intrigues of the Massachusetts Legislature.

McGee Disciple of Speaker John Thompson

Tom McGee had come into the Massachusetts House in 1963 and had voted for the iron-fisted John Thompson to be the House Speaker during Thompson's miraculous battle to retain the Speakership---which he did by five votes.

McGee became a disciple of Thompson and admired the tough Western Massachusetts Speaker. McGee, like Thompson, had seen desperate combat action in World War II, with McGee having served with the United States Marines on Iwo Jima. Like Thompson also, McGee was a "street fighter" type. He was a "people" person who felt his legislative office was there to help those in need and in that regard he had a golden heart. He also acquired a personal bad habit that could have affected his legislative career and probably his life if he did not wrench himself away from it. That he was able to do so made Tommy McGee extremely happy and proud and he would say so.

In the House of Representatives, Tommy McGee paid his dues through loyalty to the Thompson-Davoren-Bartley Speaker-ships, rising to Majority Whip and under Speaker David Bartley to Majority Leader---a heart-beat from the Speakership.

In 1975, Tommy McGee received the biggest break of his political career when Speaker David Bartley left the House for the Presidency of Holyoke Community College. There was Tommy McGee, Majority Leader, next in line and extremely popular with his 240 colleagues. He nailed down the Speakership easily and he said it was one of the greatest days in his life.

From 1975 to 1985 McGee ran the Speakership with a mixture of his own style and that of John Thompson and David Bartley, two strong-willed and tough House Speakers in their own right.

House Cut Reduced Legislature from 240 to 160

Speaker McGee in Charge

Speaker McGee held the reins of power in the House over the difficult period when the Massachusetts House was reduced in size from 240 members to 160. A great many friendships became frayed during that period when seats had to be consolidated and a whole new redistricting plan put into effect. McGee called upon Representative George Keverian to not only handle the redistricting, but also when it went into effect, to redesign the House Chamber to handle the reduced membership. Keverian performed the task with a minimum of complaint from his Democratic colleagues. Keverian had done a good job and McGee took note of it. He began to look upon the Harvard-educated Keverian as a dependable ally and friend. Keverian

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moved into the Leadership circle as the Majority Whip and became an ideal "point-man" for Speaker McGee.

For 9½ years McGee's rough-and-ready style dominated the Speakership. He had little to do with the Press. He gathered to his side a leadership team, including committee chairmen, many of whom reflected his own attitudes toward government. In a profession where pure loyalty is hard to come by, Tommy McGee did well.

It is difficult for a presiding officer to maintain a "love-in" over a long period of years and, as time went on, McGee began to receive his share of bad-mouthing (a daily game on Beacon Hill) and some of his leadership team, committee chairmen and all---and in fact some of his internal staff---began to generate grumbling among rank and file legislators.

This is not unusual as legislators have always been known to be angry when they want to see the Speaker and can't. Isolation is a deadly disease among presiding officers and there were murmers that Speaker McGee was isolating himself. Some of his chairmen were becoming autocratic and legislators argued they had to deal with staff and not the Speaker. True or false it became a common complaint among the back benchers that the easy flow to the Speaker's inner office was disappearing.

Representative Keverian Loyalty Led to Promotion

When an opportunity came to appoint a new Majority Leader, Speaker McGee promoted his loyal and dedicated Majority Whip George Keverian to become second in command.

It was a standout move for McGee, for not only was Keverian a dedicated loyalist, he had the confidence of most members of the House. George was an amiable legislator, having first been elected to the House in 1967. Non-pretentious, Keverian developed a wide circle of legislative friends who genuinely liked him because of his easy manner, his wit and his non-devious approach to whatever the problem. He was a "live-and-let-live" type of individual and was respected by both Republicans and Democrats alike.

More than all that, he hit it off well with Speaker McGee and handled many of the sticky problems that daily confront the General Court. He was simply a good man to have around. It was an odd-couple relationship, the diminutive, strong-willed Speaker McGee and the 300+ pound good-natured Majority Leader George Keverian. Whether it be rules reform, budgets, internal House problems, redistricting, television or whatever, Keverian was McGee's man. He was the perfect Majority Leader. He was loyal to the "Speaker." He could get things done. Theirs was a genuine friendship.

No matter what, Keverian cannot be faulted for his desire one day to be House Speaker. Sitting as he was for six years

as Majority Leader, like any other Majority Leader, he looked forward to the day when he would be on the rostrum as the Speaker. It is the end-all for any legislator. The seat of power. However, there is no record of Keverian undermining the Speaker and going for the "gold" on his own. That wasn't his style.

Keverian Moves For Speakership on Understanding

Tommy McGee to Leave House Rostrum

Stories are never clear on personal conversations, but rumor had it that McGee had indicated to Keverian that he would not be a candidate for the Speakership at the end of his present term. This was the best news Keverian had ever heard and he prepared himself for the race for the Speakership.

The rumors surfaced that sometime later Speaker McGee informed Majority Leader Keverian that he had changed his mind and was going for the Speakership again or that he had never quite said it the way George interpreted it. Keverian who had worked the chamber for votes for the Speakership based on what he had anticipated was the Speaker's retirement at the end of his present term, would not be diverted. He believed what he believed. He had entered the chase in good faith and was too far along to drop out.

The old and valued friendship and leadership-closeness cracked and broke. There were now two candidates for the Speakership---Speaker Tom McGee and his Majority Leader George Keverian. It wasn't the best of all worlds for the two leaders, but there it was.

In no time at all, after his announcement to continue in the race, Keverian was out as Majority Leader and out of his spacious offices as well. Taxation Chairman Charles Flaherty, another former McGee loyalist and now an ally of Keverian also got the pink slip from his Chairmanship. Everything was coming apart.

Other moves were made and the McGee-Keverian relationship was in complete disarray. It was now a McGee-Keverian blood-letting---the prize, the Speakership of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Many legislators felt bad about the breakup, for both McGee and Keverian had their friends. Many house members had obligations to both camps, to McGee for helping them with legislation and campaign funds, committee chairmanships, favorite committees, etc., and to Keverian for his protection of their seats during the House cut from 240 to 160 members and for other favors he was able to do.

House Members Nervous and Uneasy as

McGee-Keverian Vie for Pledges

For a full 14 months the battle for pledges raged between McGee and Keverian. Many legislators quickly signed pledges

one way or the other to avoid the enormous pressures that were bound to come as the day neared to vote for a Speaker. For the McGee and Keverian partisans the decision was easy. For the other House members who weren't into any particular favors either way the decision to go for McGee or Keverian was painful. Members of the Republican minority were also importuned to vote either for McGee or Keverian and Minority Leader Robinson had his hands full trying to keep some of his own members on their own side of the fence. He ran into the same problem for some of his members had received help from either McGee or Keverian and wanted to vote for one or the other. It was a dilemma and involved obligations, friendships, and what not.

Legislature Limp Along as Speakership Fight Takes Center Stage

During all the long months of the race for the Speakership the Legislature limped along. Every important bill a legislator wanted had a problem of obligation, therefore little was done. In 1984, while the McGee-Keverian battle was at its peak, the State budget took weeks to pass. Every Tom, Dick and Harry amendment was accepted and the budget left the House for the Senate loaded down with more amendments than at any time in history.

Finally, when all legislative enactments were before Governor Dukakis, it was discovered that the lowest number of bills in 46 years came to him for signature---something over 493---which is about half the normal legislative output. Everything was subordinated to the race for the Speakership. Legislatively, 1984 was a bad year.

The vote counts of both Speaker candidates were always suspect, but as time went on into the fall of 1984, it began to appear that Keverian was edging out ahead. The Press was dumping on McGee and candidates for representative seats were using him as a punching bag. The McGee campaign was becoming beleaguered. Both McGee and Keverian took to the road trying to help their pledged candidates. While McGee was taking his lumps from the metropolitan Press, many of the suburban newspapers gave him support. Keverian had mostly good press all through the fight.

Defeat of Majority Leader John Murphy Crushing Blow to McGee's Campaign

While McGee's campaign was tottering in the fall of 1984, it took a devastating blow when Majority Leader John Murphy, who had replaced Keverian after his removal by McGee, was defeated in a surprising upset.

Murphy had been out front in the drive for votes for McGee. Now, with his defeat by a young Republican, who used the McGee Speakership as his campaign theme, Murphy's effectiveness was nil. McGee had expected Murphy to lead the late charge for

votes. Representative Murphy was well-liked and respected and probably could have helped the Speaker---but whether or not he could deliver the votes was in doubt.

In the Face of Falling Odds for Speakership

Tommy McGee Fights On

As the weeks and days after the November election slipped away and the day of reckoning, January 2, 1985, was closing in---that being the day for the election as Speaker, some of McGee's staunchest supporters felt the cause was lost. Others who had not committed themselves began to see the hand-writing on the wall and went over to the Keverian camp. At least one of McGee's chairmen announced for Keverian. Others were on the anxious seat.

During some of the final strategy sessions in the Speaker's office and the vote counts, it was suggested that McGee withdraw from the fight for the ball game was over. The little ex-Marine refused to call it quits and stated to his supporters that he was going to see the Speakership fight all the way through. "Quit, hell." he said.

Speaker Tommy McGee did not fold. With his troops falling away, his barricades being battered and all hope seemingly gone, McGee nevertheless barged into the Democratic caucus on January 2, feisty and ready for combat.

George Keverian wins Caucus Vote 80-44

McGee Takes Fight to House Floor

When the caucus vote was taken, Keverian had 80 votes to McGee's 44, practically a 2-1 margin. The Speakership was nailed down: Keverian had the prize.

At this point, several of McGee's supporters led by Representative Joseph DeNucci of Newton and Representative Marie Parente of Milford appealed to McGee to support Keverian's nomination by acclamation.

Said DeNucci: "Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to have voted for you in this caucus but the vote had been taken. I do believe it is time to come together as Democrats."

Speaker McGee sat silently staring back at DeNucci, who he had appointed to his chairmanship.

When Representative Parente, also a McGee loyalist, suggested it was time to end the fight, commenting, "Even an officer in your beloved Marine Corps wouldn't have taken his Marines over a hill in a losing mission."

"Who knows when it's over," grunted the Speaker. "The only reason we won Iwo Jima was because men were willing to die."

There was nothing then to do but go to the House floor

for further resolution of the Speakership battle.

And on the floor of the House, the long and acrimonious struggle ended.

Keverian Captures Speakership by Vote of 90-43;

Calls for Healing Process to Begin

When finally House Clerk Robert MacQueen had read off the names of the 160 House members and 158 answered as to their choice for Speaker, Representative George Keverian had 90 votes, Thomas McGee had 43 votes and Republican Floor Leader William Robinson had 27 votes.

A simple majority of the 160 House members was all that was needed. 81 votes would do it and Keverian had 90 votes, including seven Republicans so therefore Clerk MacQueen declared Keverian the new Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

The wearing, vicious struggle was over and Speaker-Elect Keverian took his place at the rostrum, banged down the gavel and commenced his service as Speaker of the 174th session of the General Court.

In his remarks, Keverian was gracious and humble---no rancor or bitterness in his manner. He called for cooperation after some personal references.

Referring to the struggle that divided the House and practically paralyzed it for 14 months, Speaker-Elect Keverian said, "The campaign has ended and the healing process has begun."

Deposed McGee Pledges Cooperation Stating:

"I Fought to the End Because It's the Only Way I Know."

Thomas W. McGee, the first Speaker in modern Massachusetts history to be denied re-election made some brief remarks following his loss to his erstwhile friend and Majority Leader. He stated he would cooperate with his successor. "I don't take my hat off to anyone," said McGee to his cheering supporters and others. "My heart is here with the members and now I'm going back to where I started 22 years ago---a back seat."

Then looking out over the House Chamber at his friends and his enemies McGee stated: "I've been elected Speaker five times, longer than any other man over 160 years. I've done it all."

There were no tears, no remorse. He gave the fight to retain the Speakership the kind of battle his former mentor John Thompson would have been proud of. Unlike Thompson's historic success, it did not work for Tommy McGee.

His last words to friend and foe alike were: "I fought to

the end because it's the only way I know."

To which a Keverian loyalist commented to a fellow legislator, "Down deep you've got to admire the little guy. He was one tough Marine."

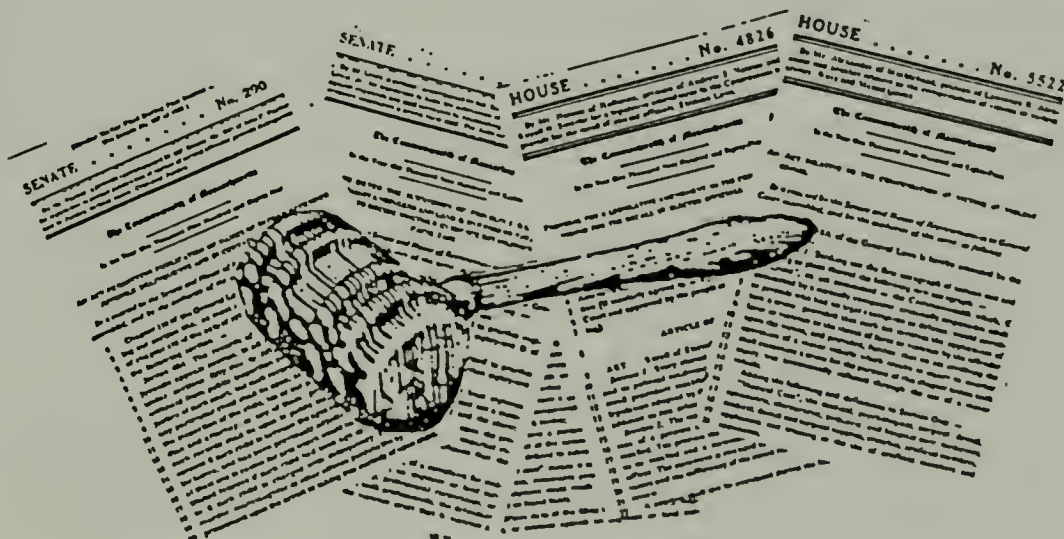
COMMENT:

THE THREE CASES CITED IN THE FOREGOING DIS-
SERTATION WERE NOT THE ONLY STRUGGLES FOR THE
SPEAKERSHIP OR THE SENATE PRESIDENCY. THEY ARE
MERELY THE MODERN BATTLES AND WELL WITHIN THE
MEMORY OF THOSE WHO FOLLOW THE PRESENT POLITICAL
SCENE. SURELY, AS RAYMOND BRIDGMAN STATES IN
HIS 1894 CONDEMNATION OF THE ELECTION PROCESS
FOR SPEAKER OR PRESIDENT THERE WERE MANY SAVAGE,
BLOODY BATTLES FOR THE LEADERSHIP ALL THE WAY
BACK TO EARLY TIMES.

THE TURBULENCE, THE THIRST FOR POWER AND
AUTHORITY HAS ALWAYS MADE THE SELECTION OF SPEAKER
AND PRESIDENT A BATTLEGROUND. SO, TOO FOR OTHER
LEADERSHIP POSTS, SUCH AS THE SENATOR GRAHAM-FRED
LAMSON CONTEST FOR MINORITY LEADER IN THE EARLY
1960'S WHICH WENT A NUMBER OF BALLOTS BEFORE IT
WAS RESOLVED IN GRAHAM'S FAVOR.

ALSO THE SIDNEY CURTISS-FRANK HATCH HOUSE
MINORITY LEADERSHIP IN WHICH HATCH CAME OUT A
WINNER OVER CURTISS, THE LONG-TIME OCCUPANT OF
THE MINORITY LEADER'S POSITION.

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, AN UNDERGROUND WAR RAGED
BETWEEN SENATOR KEVIN HARRINGTON AND SENATOR JAMES
BURKE FOR THE PRESIDENCY, WHICH WAS ONLY RESOLVED
IN HARRINGTON'S FAVOR A DAY OR TWO BEFORE THE
ACTUAL VOTING.



OLDE TIME LEGISLATORS

FINED FOR TALKING TOO MUCH

At the October, 1640 session of the General court it was ordered "that no man should speak above three times to any cause without leave of the Governor or Court, upon the pain of twelve pence a time; and that if any be speaking about private business while the business of the Court is in hand, he shall forfeit twelve pence in like sort."

Thus early did our ancestors recognize and put into operation the true methods of advancing the public interests and promoting the public business.

In modern times the tendency has been to more elaborate hearings in committee and prolific debate upon the floor, which often bestow valuable time on trivial subjects, and lose sight entirely of matters gravely essential to the business and industries of the country.

There is opportunity for wise reform in these particulars, and a return to the ways of these men would not be injurious."

----Charles J. Noyes, House Speaker, 1881

Massachusetts Legislators Lead Nation

In Holding National House Speakership

One of the little-known prideful facts about the Massachusetts Legislature is the number of men who have risen from the General Court to become Speakers of the National House of Representatives.

A total of eight former House and Senate members have risen to the National Speakership, which leads all states in that regard.

The first was Theodore Sedgwick who served as Speaker of the Massachusetts House in 1788-1789 and then as National Speaker in 1799-1801.

Next, Joseph B. Varnum served in the Massachusetts House from 1780-1785, the State Senate until 1795 and in the U.S. House until 1811, serving as U.S. Speaker from 1807-1811.

Robert C. Winthrop served in the Massachusetts House from 1835-1840 and was Speaker from 1838-1840, then in the U.S. House from 1840-1850, becoming U.S. Speaker in 1847 to 1850.

Nathaniel P. Banks served in the Massachusetts House in 1849-1852, acting as Speaker 1851-1852, then in the U.S. Congress from 1853-1857, serving as Speaker from 1856-1857.

Frederick H. Gillett served in the Massachusetts House in 1891 and went on to thirty-two years from 1893-1925 in Congress and the Speakership in 1919-1925.

Joseph W. Martin, Jr., served in the Massachusetts House and Senate before completing a 42-year record in Congress, serving as Speaker in 1947 to 1948 and 1953-1954.

John W. McCormack was a member of both the House and Senate before congressional service. He served for 42 years in Congress where he was Speaker from 1962-1971, longer than any other Massachusetts man.

Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill was Speaker of the Massachusetts House in 1949-1952 and has spent 34 years in Congress rising to the Speakership in 1977.

Where Have All The Debaters Gone?

In the long-ago 1800's the men who served in the Massachusetts General Court could expect each year that a volume would be published outlining their life's activities, along with their political views, abilities and service in either the House or Senate.

The volume would not only be replete with biographical sketches but also with fine photographs of the 280 members of the House and Senate. It was a souvenir that probably every member of the General Court would prize, for it told it all about each member.

A skip-through one of these 100-year-old legislative volumes reveals a different approach to legislative activity than now prevails on Beacon Hill. In the long-ago, floor debate apparently was a major part of legislative life, if the biographies of many members are to be believed.

As one reads through the biographical sketches, he is caught up with references to debating skills of a great number of the House and Senate members.

As the biographer used the terms throughout the volume, he referred again and again to various members, citing their abilities thusly: "He has the power of argument." Concerning another House member he wrote; "He is forceful and effective in debate." Still another was chronicled thusly; "He is zealous in defending the right and equally zealous in exposing the wrong."

Then there was this phrase, "He is a strong and ready debater." And another legislator was stated as "He speaks with fluency and freedom." Still another; "He is eminently capable of handling his end of the debate." and "He always commands the attention of the House." and "He is a debater of energy and persistency." and "He is a Speaker of more than common power and always commands attention." and "He is an excellent speaker of more than common power." and "As a debater he has no equal in the breadth of his information and keenness of his repartee."

All through the volume it is the same, credit given to legislators who stood in there against the storm and debated the issues on the floor of the House and Senate.

It may be that legislators came to the General court in the old days better prepared for floor action. Many of them came from ward and precinct clubs where debate was a way of life. They belonged to groups and organizations which battled back and forth on various issues and their skills were honed so that when they arrived in the Legislature they could handle themselves in floor debate. Then too, parliamentary procedure was a big thing in the old days. There were even schools that taught it. A reading of old-time volumes indicates a remarkable ability by many legislators to tie either

branch into knots with parliamentary maneuvers and presiding officers often were hard-pressed to handle the "tricks" and "moves" of any number of legislators.

As compared with the old-time legislators, present-day House and Senate members seem not to be in the same class. In recent years, floor debate has fallen to its lowest ebb probably ever. There are few full scale, knowledgeable debates in either branch. Much of what goes on is harangue, statements and posturing. There is very little old-fashioned crossfire.

These are different times. Legislators are different. Their approach is different. Maneuver and behind the scenes approach to legislation is the order of the day. Compromise is everything. Scarcely, if ever, is there a knock-down, drag-out debate in either branch, involving several members. Nowadays a handful do the so-called debating.

In the old days of 100 years ago when it was reported that so-and-so and so-and-so were on opposite sides of an issue, both chambers would be filled with members and also the galleries as well, as legislators and the public gathered to enjoy the deadly crossfire, the repartee, the point-making and the parliamentary maneuvering.

There apparently were far more talkers, orators and debaters 100 years ago than now prevail. Skillful, high-level debating and parliamentary knowledge made for outstanding floor action. Debating is becoming a nearly lost art, much to the regret of those who follow the actions of the Massachusetts General Court and who have reviewed legislative history.



SWIG COLLAPSED DURING SPEECH

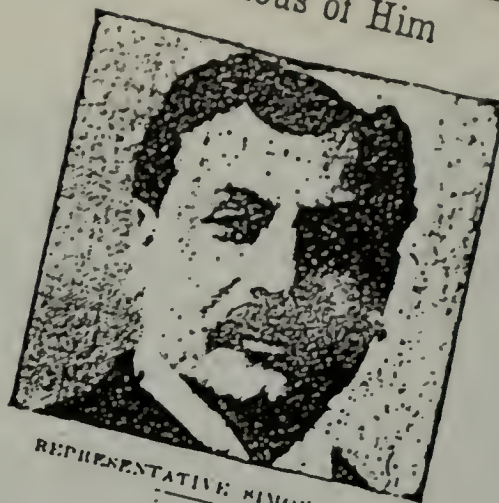
Was Making Plea For
"Fair Play" in House
Fell Back Into His Seat After
Defending His Record

BOSTON GLOBE

WEDNESDAY

MAY 10, 1916

Declares His Enemies Are
Jealous of Him



REPRESENTATIVE SIMON SWIG

"Let Him That Is Without Sin
Among Us Cast The First Stone."

Campaign spending in the long ago was taken far more seriously than it has been in recent years---at least so far as spending limits are concerned.

It is common in these days to spend great sums of money for election purposes. The Dukakis-King gubernatorial race exceeded \$6 million dollars; Congressional seats could expend up to a million dollars.

Even State Senate and House seats reach now from \$50,000 to more than \$100,000.

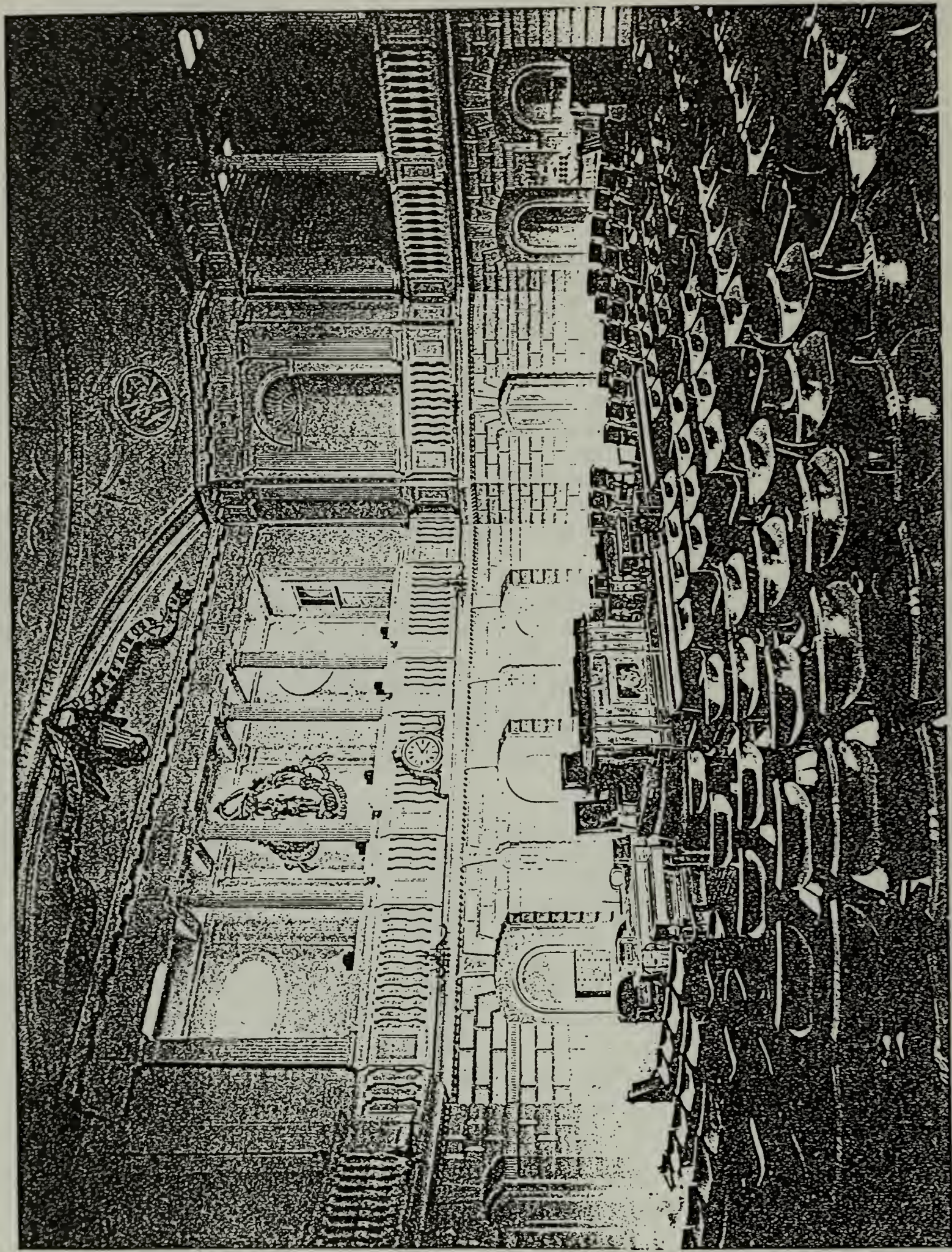
Matters were different in 1916 when Representative Simon Swig of Boston's Ward 21 was hauled before a legislative committee for spending more than \$100 - or so the charge went. He was declared to have violated the law.

In today's coverage the item of Swig's so-called "breaking the law" might rate a couple of lines in the Metropolitan Press. However, on May 10, 1916, Swig faced the entire House membership in defense of his campaign spending. It was a major news event covered by every newspaper with the Boston Globe giving the story heavy coverage - large headlines and over a two-day spread devoting almost three columns of testimony and the complete roll call which vindicated Representative Swig by a vote of 119 to 106 - mostly along party lines.

Swig, a Republican, contended his enemies were jealous of him. He became so emotional that he collapsed. Others took up the slack and flailed away at the legislators who were calling for the investigation.

Representative Ryan of Holyoke, in defense of Swig, cried out during the hours-long debate, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." Continued Ryan, "Every one of the members knows that the game of politics is spelled 'Bluff.'"

NOTE: Hours of debate, roll calls, three columns in the newspapers, all because a Representative spent more than \$100 to be elected to the House.



OLD REPRESENTATIVES HALL
(NOW SENATE CHAMBER)
1881

the EDITOR'S EASY CHAIR

Please Don't Bite the Politicians

THIS is a plea for tolerance toward our most misunderstood minority: the professional politicians.

No other group in America is the butt of so much suspicion, ridicule, and contempt. All kinds of opinion-makers, from editorial writers to night-club comics—people who would never dream of insulting a Negro, Jew, Catholic, or Paiute Indian—delight in slipping their daily needle of sarcasm into the politician. They have even invented a derisive name for him: The Pol.

The hard feeling will reach its peak this month, as it does at the close of every Presidential election. Countless people who ordinarily have nothing to do with politics will wake up on November 9 disappointed, angry, and probably overhung. And not only the losers. Many a member of the winning party will have a sour bellyful of disillusionment about the way his Peerless Leaders (from ward chairman to Presidential candidate) handled the campaign. Bitterest of all will be the amateur politicians—the volunteers who have been working for the last four months in uneasy harness with the pros. Most of them will finger their collar-galls on post-election morning and reflect that their worst suspicions are now confirmed.

A case in point is an idealistic young artist, whose cartoons probably are familiar to most of you. Recently he developed a deep concern for politics. He wakes up at 3:00 A.M. to worry about Peace: he believes that all men are brothers, especially if they are brown, black, or yellow; he yearns, quite sincerely, to help the poor and oppressed everywhere. So he has been trying to Do Something About It by working with the Democratic club in his Greenwich Village election district.

A few weeks ago he showed me a series of cartoons he had just finished about "typical politicians." They emerged as wonderfully funny but sinister buffoons—both sly and stupid, corrupt, hog rich, and all callously indifferent to the Big Issues such as hunger in Asia and The Bomb.

This view distressed me because: (a) it is so similar to the conclusions reached by many ear-

est amateurs after their first contact with practical politicians; (b) it is wildly unfair and inaccurate; (c) it is dangerous. Unless ordinary citizens understand—and respect—the processes of political life, our society isn't going to work very well. And it is inconsistent (it seems to me) for anyone to be so passionate about democracy and yet so cynical about the instruments through which democracy has to work.

IT ALSO distressed me because I like politicians. Ever since I started work as a city-hall reporter in New Mexico some thirty years ago, I have spent a lot of time in their company—in smoke-filled rooms, jails, campaign trains, shabby courthouse offices, Senate cloakrooms, and the White House itself. Mostly I've been reporting their doings, but on occasion I have served them as speech writer, district leader, campaign chore-boy, and civil servant. On the whole, they have proved better company than any other professional group I've had a chance to know well—including writers, soldiers, businessmen, doctors, and academics. Drunk or sober, they are amusing fellows. Their view of human nature is acute, unromantic, and good-humored. They are as sensitive as coloratura sopranos. Few of them have much capacity for malice, and except when making speeches they are seldom bores.

On the average, moreover, they have seemed to me at least as honest, dedicated, and idealistic as the mine run of Americans—including the fastidious who shrink away from the "dirtiness" of politics.

No doubt the politicians are themselves partly to blame for the blotchy image of their profession in the public mind. But the rest of us, I think, are more at fault. In our lazy way, we find it easier to accept the cartoonist's caricature than to take the trouble to look at the politician as a breathing, complex human being. And all too often we try (maybe unwittingly) to push him into the mold of the caricature.

A realistic portrait of the typical politician would have to begin with his motives. Why is he in this business?

Not for money. I have never known a man

who got rich out of politics. I have known many who got poor. Nearly all of those who are reasonably competent could have done better financially in some other line of work. It is true that a good deal of money passes through their hands—politics has become an outrageously expensive business in this country—but, all legends to the contrary, not much of it sticks.

Most wealthy politicians either inherited their bank roll (like Kennedy and Rockefeller) or married it (like Senator Lyndon Johnson) or made it earlier in another trade (like Benton and Bowles). Many have sidelines which thrive on political connections—most commonly the law, insurance, contracting, and broadcasting. Nevertheless a political career is quite likely to drain more dollars out of the bank account than it feeds in.

My guess is that people usually turn to politics for the same reason actors seek the stage. They need applause.

Like the theatre, politics is a great nourisher of egos. It attracts men who are hungry for attention, for assurance that somebody loves them, for the soul-stirring music of their own voices. (Political speeches are not invariably made because the public craves wisdom, but oftener just because politicians love to talk—even when their only audience is other politicians. Note how hard it is for the chairman to throttle down the oratory at that lowliest of all political gatherings, a meeting of precinct leaders.) A main ingredient in the make-up of every successful politician is a thick slice of ham.

It follows that politicians, like actors and prima donnas, are abnormally sensitive to slights. For hundreds of political infantrymen, "recognition" is their only reward. They treasure the right to sit at the speaker's table at a fund-raising dinner, to be consulted before the governor schedules a speech in their bailiwick, to ride a few miles on the train of a whistle-stopping Presidential candidate. Above all they dote on giving advice. The late Tammany boss, Ed Flynn, once remarked that his most tiresome chore was listening to his henchmen report—at interminable length—on "conditions" in their districts. The strategy they suggested, he said, was almost always either obvious or silly; but he had to hear them out. For any affront to their self-esteem could make a mortal enemy.*

But vanity alone by no means explains the

*Sometimes of course this longing for dignity and recognition can degenerate into a simple lust for power. The extreme cases in modern times probably were Huey Long and Joe McCarthy, who seemed to get a sadistic pleasure out of kicking other people. But they represent the pathology of politics: both were products of abnormal times. When our body politic is functioning normally, it usually sloughs off such malignant types before they can do much damage.

politician. While I have long since learned that I am not competent to disentangle anybody's mixed motives (including my own), I strongly suspect that most pros are as much moved by a sense of duty as by their thirst for status. If politics is balm for tender egos, it is equally soothing to the inflamed superego. Perhaps more than most people, politicians are prodded by conscience. Certainly the best of them sincerely feel an obligation to perform a public service. And this, I think, is true at all levels—from the housewife who spends her evenings ringing doorbells and compiling card files, up to men like the late Senator George Norris or Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. Both of these were as truly noble characters as anybody you can find in Plutarch.

A third motive is usually present too: the fun of the game. Nearly every skillful politician I have ever met enjoyed the subtleties and excitements of his craft just as a tennis player enjoys a well-played match. Perhaps a better analogy is chess—a kind of chess played with thousands of pieces, each different and every one likely to start charging around the board on his own at any moment; demanding luck as well as art; and offering to the winners the highest of stakes, and to a loser oblivion.

IF THE average politician is, as I believe, a reasonably decent man, why does he have such a bad name?

This isn't a new problem. As Joyce Cary has pointed out, "almost every great statesman has been described as a crook. Metternich, Cavour, Bismarck, Gladstone, Disraeli, Lloyd George, Roosevelt: history is made up of names at which the moralist holds his nose."

Ever since Pericles, the basic indictment has been dishonesty. This can include two counts: (a) he steals money; (b) he is intellectually dishonest—a hypocrite, a trimmer, a promiser of things he can't deliver.

How far can these charges be sustained?

It certainly can't be denied that some politicians are common thieves. Almost every week the papers report some officeholder whose hand was out for a mink coat, a free vacation trip, or cold cash. I have never seen any evidence, however, that the percentage of petty chisellers is any higher in politics than in any other profession.

All of us know of salesmen who pad their expense accounts, business executives who demand kickbacks from their suppliers, doctors who will split a fee, union officers with sticky fingers, disc jockeys who welcome a little payola. The real difference is that the sharp operators in private life seldom break into the news. The politician is under closer scrutiny, and when he is caught with his hand in the till, his partisan rivals make sure that everybody hears about it. A fair verdict on this count, it seems to me, ought

to read: Sometimes guilty, but probably no oftener than anybody else.

But what about the politician who takes money, not for personal enrichment, but to finance his political career? This is far more common—indeed almost universal. Campaigns cost plenty; so, unless we want to limit public office to rich men, somebody has to put up the cash.

At this point the moral distinctions get pretty tricky. Everybody would agree that it is wicked for a candidate to take a contribution from someone who expects a special favor in return—a gambler who wants immunity from arrest, or a contractor after that new highway job. On the other hand, if the contributor doesn't expect a specific *quid pro quo*, then most people seem to think his money is clean enough. At least so one gathers from the public reaction to Richard M. Nixon's famous Checkers speech, in which he justified accepting \$18,000 from wealthy friends on grounds that none of them "ever received any consideration that he would not have received as an ordinary constituent."

All they had been promised—according to Dana Smith, who solicited the fund—was that Nixon would "continue to sell effectively . . . the economic and political systems which we all believe in." Presumably that meant lower taxes and a favorable climate for business. But suppose a candidate honestly believes in higher taxes, and a favorable climate for trade unions? Is it then all right for him to take money from union leaders? And how do you judge those Texas Congressmen who are largely financed by oil men desperately eager to protect their special tax privileges?

Among such cases, and many others even more shadowy, I don't see how anybody can draw a clear moral line. Ideally, of course, every campaign should be financed only by small contributions from patriotic citizens who expect nothing in return except good government. But these are about as rare as whooping cranes. It is this stinginess—of which we are nearly all guilty—that makes the candidate seek his funds from dubious sources; and it is in this way that we force him closer to conforming to that unjust caricature of The Typical Politician.

If we really wanted to mend matters, we could do two things. Individual citizens might become a lot more generous, and disinterested, in making political contributions. Or we might start financing campaigns out of the public treasury, as the late Senator Richard Neuberger suggested. At the moment, both courses sound utopian. So long, however, as we prefer to leave things as they are, it hardly becomes us to point scornful fingers at the politicians.

A fair verdict on this charge, then, might read: Guilt, if any, is usually due to circumstances beyond his control.

THE amateurs in politics may grant all this, and still argue that the professional is an intellectual fraud. What makes their peeve worse is the suspicion (often well founded) that the pro doesn't quite trust them, or wholly welcome their volunteer help.

Let's see how this painful situation looks from the viewpoint of a small-time professional: for example, a ward leader.

For the last four years (and for several quadrenniums before that) he has drudged away at the dull, necessary chores—seeing that newcomers to the ward get registered, hunting likely candidates for the town council, directing widows to the Social Security office, raising money to pay the club-house rent. Few amateurs have ever volunteered to help. But now that a Presidential campaign has rolled around, they pour in, eager for the fun and busting their seams with enthusiasm. Can you blame him for feeling that they want to eat the icing off the cake he has been baking for so long?

But he stifles this resentment and sets them to work running the mimeograph or answering the telephone. A few (usually women) do well; some get bored after a few days and disappear. Still others feel insulted; they didn't come for this sort of scullery work. What they want is to make speeches, counsel candidates, devise strategy—in short, to take over the old pro's job.

With what tact he can dredge up, he dissuades them—and not merely to protect his selfish clutch on the levers of power. How to explain that he can't trust them with such assignments? They simply don't

know the delicate network of personal relationships which holds the ward together. Being ignorant of the faces that have to be saved, the egos that require an extra oil massage, the ancient local enmities that must be respected, they might tear apart overnight the organization he has been knitting for decades.

Besides, these amateurs are mostly idealists, each dedicated to a Cause. To some, racial justice is the most important issue in the world. Others feel just as strongly about penal reform or Zionism, housing or the United Nations. Each expects the ward leader to share this burning devotion, to the exclusion of practically everything else.

God knows he tries. He hates racial discrimination as much as anybody, and besides he has twenty-three Negro families in the north end of the ward. But on the East Side he also has a bunch of Poles who don't like either Negroes or Jews; they seem to spend most of their time loathing Russia, and incidentally the United Nations which tolerates Soviet membership. None of them gives a damn about penal reform, except old Mrs. Kruszwica who has two sons in the state penitentiary. Both Poles and Negroes like low-rent housing, though; maybe they can be pulled together on that, if the other issues are soft-pedaled enough. . . . The real-estate men won't like it, of course, and neither will a couple of good contributors who worry a lot about high taxes. . . .

So his thoughts run, through a hundred other remembrances of his constituents' desires, antipathies, and conflicts. After all, his first job is to carry the ward in November. And that he can never do if he comes out with a ringing, clear-cut declaration on every cause which his amateur helpers hold so dear. Indeed, he has to muffle *their* enthusiasm when it gets too strident. Heavenly as their motives may be, he just can't afford to let these angels rush in where any experienced foul would fear to tread.

As a consequence, a lot of volunteers will conclude before election day (as my artist friend did) that the old pro is a man of no convictions. He has been lukewarm about their pet issues. He has evaded uncompromising pledges wherever he could. Sometimes his speeches

sounded weaselly, as if he hoped two opposing groups might interpret them in different ways. And how about those rumors that he accepted a campaign contribution from a big realtor? Isn't it plain enough that he is guilty of the grossest kind of intellectual dishonesty?

Not to me, it isn't. For my money he looks like a good man, doing a job which is indispensable in any democracy and doing it just as honestly as he knows how. I think he deserves a lot more respect than he usually gets.

IF YOU happen to be the other kind of amateur in politics—one of those who have developed some appreciation of the professionals—and if you in turn would like to gain their affection and trust, here is a

simple recipe.

Go down to your local party headquarters on the morning after the election. It will reek of stale tobacco smoke, mimeograph ink, and cold coffee dregs. Chances are nobody will be there except the ward leader. He will be as tired as a man can get, but he will be making a limp effort to clean up the joint. Help him sweep up the crumpled Dixie Cups, the trampled cigarette butts, and discarded campaign leaflets. Pick up about a million scraps of paper covered with penciled figures; nearly all the people who jammed the room last night were jotting down returns as they came in over a battery of telephones, and doing hasty sums in an effort to convince themselves that we might win yet, if the boys in the third precinct roll up a bigger

majority than expected. (They didn't.) Fold up the rented chairs that have to be returned to an undertaking parlor. Call the phone company and tell them to take out the extra phones, and that, yes, the overdue bill will be paid in a day or two.

When the worst of the mess is scraped away, offer the old pro five dollars to help cover the campaign deficit. (There's always a deficit.) If he doesn't drop dead from astonishment, he will be your friend for life. For, in all probability, you will be the first volunteer who has ever given him any help *after* an election. And it could be that you have just taken the first step toward becoming a pro yourself.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING CONGRESS

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts General Court, in true colonial spirit, has given its advise generously and lavishly to Congress in countless resolutions memorializing Congress; and

WHEREAS, In the spirit of keeping a separation between the state and federal systems, we have told Congress on many occasions what it should do about its affairs; and

WHEREAS, Congress so far as it is known, never memorialized us, and thus has maintained an aloof and arrogant position with respect to the Massachusetts General Court, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts General Court memorialize Congress to memorialize us some time instead of lazily sitting around Washington and letting us do all the memorializing; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be dispatched post haste to Congress via any one of the over-night air express companies in order that they will receive it before breakfast.

Senator John F. Parker

Keep Cool but Do Not Freeze: Tips on Dealing With the Press

Many managers find their contact with the press to be frustrating and unrewarding. Indeed, some will avoid reporters and editors because they are fearful of having their comments misinterpreted or distorted.

These concerns are understandable.

It is a fact that members of the fourth estate are cynical and skeptical. What is difficult for many businessmen to accept is

Manager's Journal

by Jack Bernstein

that those characteristics go with the job. News people are paid to be disbelievers. And although some may harbor antibusiness attitudes, by and large reporters and editors tend to be quite objective.

Senior executives often compound the problem by treating a press interview as either a confrontation or a gabfest, mostly the latter. For some reason, usually astute and prudent executives, privy to corporate confidences of the highest order, tend to be indiscreet when talking to a reporter.

As a manager you can minimize misunderstandings and gain the benefits that accrue from clear and factual reporting of your company's views and policies by following some basic guidelines:

Don't try to get "buddy-buddy" with the press. A friendly and productive relationship can be developed without going overboard. In fact, many reporters will resist too chummy a relationship to avoid impairing their own objectivity.

Don't be too available. Businessmen are supposed to be busy running their businesses. You needn't drop everything because somebody from the press is trying to reach you.

If you have reason to believe it is urgent, by all means attend to it. More often than not, however, you'll be better served

by having your public relations people handle the initial inquiry. This takes you out from under the gun of having to respond to a question without having had adequate time to frame your response.

While the media prefer dealing directly with the source, even they will concede that effective public relations people can be helpful in furnishing necessary background and gaining prompt access to the appropriate executive.

Be responsive and factual but don't give away the store. You are under no obligation to divulge confidential information or data that would aid and comfort the competition.

Stay cool. Some interviewers deliberately seek to provoke. Don't take it personally; it's just a technique to elicit more "colorful" or controversial quotes. Remain calm and unemotional.

Avoid the practice of "talking off the record." Sometimes it is helpful to "position" your observations by providing background on a not-for-publication basis.

With few exceptions, however, perfectly productive interviews can be conducted by observing the dictum: "Say nothing that you do not wish to see in print."

Let the medium dictate the message. With print media, you have the luxury of time in order to carefully consider your response. A penetrating question deserves a thoughtful answer; don't feel pressured into replying without reflection. With electronic media, bear in mind that viewers react as much to one's air of decisiveness as to the substance of what is said. It's important to convey a feeling of authority by responding crisply.

Be prepared. Do a little homework, if necessary. That advice may sound too basic to be worth mentioning, but many executives go into an interview and try to "wing it." It's not vital that a manager know every detail of every facet of his operation, but he should be aware of the

reporter's principal areas of interest and armed with the information to deal with them.

Recognize that the press, with rare exception, is not waiting with bated breath for pronouncements from the executive suite. Do not make the all-too-common mistake of equating your company's interests with those of the media.

Don't throw your advertising weight around. It'll only backfire. No reputable medium permits its editorial judgment to be influenced by advertising, and many have rigid procedures to eliminate contact between the two departments.

Tell it like it is. A key to earning and retaining credibility with the media is to take the bitter with the sweet. Understand that bad news is good news to editors; they know that bad news is more avidly read than good news.

Every company must on occasion deal with unfavorable situations. Generally the best policy is to respond forthrightly to questions from the press, with emphasis on plans for remedial action. The goal in handling bad news is to "get it out of the way" and prevent it from becoming a continuing news story.

Use the press conference sparingly. You run a press conference when other means of disseminating your news are inadequate. This almost always means you are dealing not only with a particularly newsworthy or complex topic, but that you anticipate the need for amplification via questions and answers.

Resist the ego trip. It's heady wise to be featured and quoted in influential media; but the best publicity is that which advances the company's cause. Personal gratification should be a pleasant by-product.

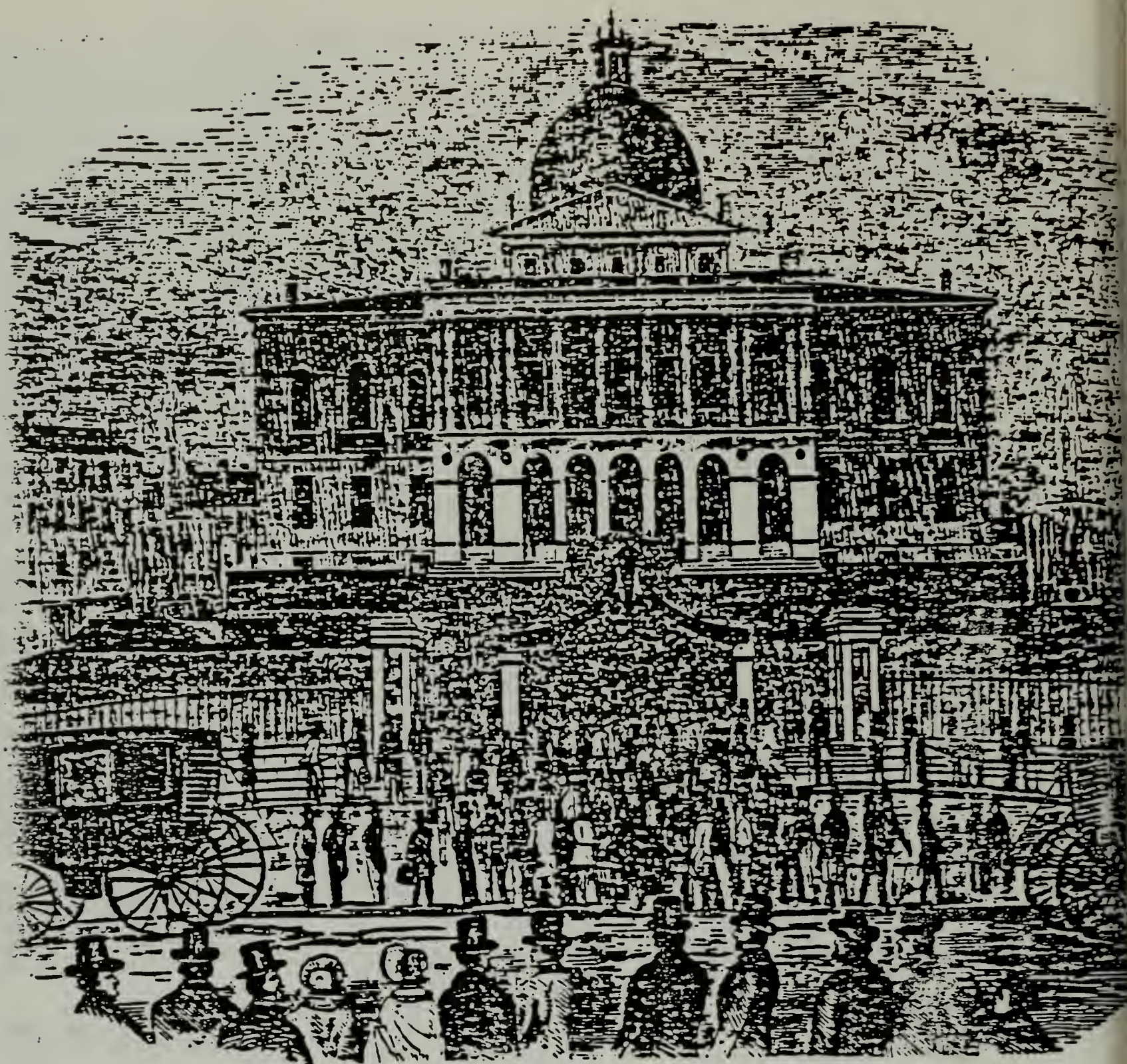
Mr. Bernstein is head of Jack Bernstein Associates, a New York public relations firm.

WHY TWO CLOCKS IN THE SENATE?

For almost 90 years the House (now the Senate) got along with one clock, facing the Speaker. To find out the time everyone had to turn around and those near the back of the chamber had difficulty stretching their necks to read the clock.

After all those years it remained for Representative Daniels of Oxford in 1877 to file an order for an additional clock. His order called for a time-piece at the other end of the chamber behind the Speaker and in front of the members.

Daniels' order was adopted with some humor. When the clock was installed, its convenience was noted and everyone agreed it was a great idea - except the press which ridiculed the idea of two clocks in one room and the cost.



THE STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

PEOPLE WHO LOVE SAUSAGE
AND WHO RESPECT THE LAW
SHOULD NEVER WATCH
EITHER ONE BEING MADE!

LEGISLATIVE LANGUAGE

What the Double Talk in the House and Senate Often Means.

As Compiled and Interpreted by

SENATE MINORITY LEADER JOHN F. PARKER---Taunton.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"WHAT'S MY VOTE. . . ."

(A common expression among legislators who don't know or care what's going on.)

"THIS IS A SIMPLE AMENDMENT. . . ."

(It either kills the bill or includes his brother-in-law for a job.)

"THE SPEAKER SAYS THIS IS A GOOD BILL. . . ."

(He better vote right or there goes the Committee assignment and a few bucks from the Committee to Elect a Democratic House. Better the back pocket than ostracization.)

"I'M CHANGING MY VOTE ON THIS BILL BECAUSE I'M GETTING A LOT OF FLAK FROM MY CONSTITUENTS. . . ."

(One letter from a little old lady in tennis sneakers that has scared hell out of him.)

"THOSE LABOR FAKIRS AREN'T TELLING ME HOW TO VOTE. . . ."

(The labor boys had him against the wall, and despite popping off, he'll push "GREEN" for "YES" at the right time.)

"BUSINESS WANTS YOU TO VOTE WITH THEM ON EVERY ISSUE. WHO THE HELL DO THEY THINK THEY ARE. . . .?"

(Business would drop dead if he gave them one good vote.)

"THIS BILL IS NON-CONTROVERSIAL. . . ."

(He wants to push it through the Senate before someone gets wise to it.)

"THIS BILL WON'T COST THE TAXPAYERS ANYTHING. . . ."

(That's what they have been saying for 200 years.)

"I'M AGAINST MORE JOBS IN THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT. ITS A PATRONAGE HAVEN ALREADY. . . ."

(Retaliation because his cousin was laid off in the Governor's cut-back.)

"THE BUDGET IS TOO HIGH, BUT I'M VOTING FOR IT ANYWAY SO WE CAN END THE SESSION. . . ."

(It's loaded with goodies for his district and he wants it passed before somebody discovers it.)

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1982

George F. Will

Democracy's Foot Soldiers

Many Americans believe that on an average day, the average congressman joins a lobbyist for what is, between them, a six-martini lunch in furtherance of some conspiracy against the average American. If the average American thinks legislators should lead lives of travail, asceticism and insecurity, the average American should rejoice about the kind of days that Howard Denis lives. Welcome to the world of the state legislator: one-Coke lunches, heavy on tuna fish.

His 1974 Chevrolet has gone 96,000 miles and acquired that many dents and scratches carrying him to and from Annapolis and around his suburban Washington district. The district contains 56,506 registered voters. Four years ago, he won by 211 votes out of 26,905 cast. Before his two-year campaign is over he will have knocked on about 30,000 doors. In his six years as a state senator he has been bitten by five dogs, threatened with a shotgun and had his literature thrown in his face.

Politicians know better than to aggravate wantonly the electorate, so they smile until their cheeks ache, especially during the cruelest month—October. About now, a candidate feels that he or she is a toy in the hands of Fate—a fragile toy in the hands of an ill-behaved Fate that should be sent to its room without dinner. Denis' salary as senator (\$18,500) is a lot less than the fees (he's a lawyer) he must pass up for the pleasure of campaigning.

He looks 42, which he is. He should look dreadful, but doesn't. You would, if you were a Republican running in a district liberally stocked with federal workers who were not generally Republicans even before the Reagan administration arrived with its "RIF" (reduction-in-force) program for slimming the government. There are just seven Republicans among Maryland's 47 senators. The ratio is even worse in the House of Delegates, where only 15 of the 141 delegates are Republicans.

Denis' campaign will spend about \$20,000, most of it for mailings. Madeleine Will, who is what Boss Tweed would have been if he had

"This nation cannot do without the profession of state legislator, which is more than can be said of, say, the columnist's profession."

really meant business, lobbies for the Maryland Association of Retarded Citizens and has held a fund-raiser for Denis, who has been helpful to her cause.

He distributes a four-page newspaper listing numerous achievements, such as his support for community placements for the retarded, and better street lights to combat crime at the University of Maryland. He stresses the common issues of state government: education, the struggle with the big city—in this case, Baltimore—over funds. He also stresses seniority. Such is the wear and tear of the legislator's life, if elected to a second term he will be among the top 10 senators in seniority.

Thomas Jefferson's tombstone lists his three proudest achievements: author of the Declaration of Independence and Virginia's statute for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia. Denis' tombstone can announce:

Here sleeps the author of the truck cover bill.

Maryland truckers are not required to cover cargoes such as gravel, to the detriment of Maryland windshields. The truckers have an argument (costs) and so does Denis (other costs, such as for windshields), and of such arguments the fabric of politics is woven.

Denis' chores are not contemptible for being of less than Jeffersonian grandeur. Whose chores are consistently grand? Anyway, this nation cannot do without the profession of state legislator, which is more than can be said of, say, the columnist's profession.

Maybe it is because of the proximity of his district to the nation's capital, but Denis gets questioned about the Middle East as well as about Maryland. Many people are, to put it politely, vague about what state legislators are. They are the infantry lieutenants of American government. Many more Americans are reverent about states' rights than are ready to join, or support, or even notice the infantry.

Between the policeman on the corner and the president on television, not much of government is tangible, concrete, even visible. But the quality of roads, schools, parks, prisons—among other things—depends on state government, where the ratio of work required to prestige received is awfully high.

When night spreads its mantle over America, when the nation puts its feet up and loosens its belt a notch, the nation can take its ease, and can take many good things for granted, in part because thousands of persons like Denis are putting their blistered feet in hot solutions of Epsom salts. Morning comes early for democracy's foot soldiers.

"I'M STICKING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THIS BILL. . . ."

(His shoulder and neck are still aching from the hammer lock and half-nelson.)

"IT'S TIME WE SHOWED SOME CONCERN FOR THE TAXPAYERS. . . ."

(Usually expressed by those facing tough fights. Otherwise blow the bundle.)

"I RECEIVED SOME LAST-MINUTE INFORMATION THAT THIS IS A GOOD BILL. . . ."

(A lobbyist knocked him over the head, or fed him a free lunch or a couple of tickets to a Celtics game.)

"THIS DAM 'YES' AND 'NO' VOTING KILLS YOU. I WISH WE COULD VOTE 'MAYBE'. . . ."

(Hang in there. Someone might file that bill yet and it could pass when nobody's looking, which is often.)

"THE DEMOCRATS ARE ALWAYS GRABBING FOR PATRONAGE. . . ."

(Oh, how we Republicans envy them.)

"I'VE BEEN IN THIS HOUSE A LONG TIME AND HAVE SEEN MANY CHANGES. . . ."

(And he's been against every one of them.)

"NOBODY APPEARED AGAINST THE BILL AT THE HEARING. . . ."

(As if that should be an endorsement. Nobody knew the hearing was being held.)

"AIN'T NOBODY PUTTING ME IN THE TANK ON A VOTE. . . ."

(He's probably three feet under water already in the Speaker's private tank.)

"I'VE SEARCHED MY CONSCIENCE AND HAVE DECIDED TO SUPPORT THIS BILL. . . ."

(His home town League of Women Voters chairlady is in the gallery writing it all down. If he slips, 'POW!')

"I DIDN'T HEAR MY NAME CALLED. . . ."

(He did, but wants to wait till the end of the Senate Roll Call to see which way the tide is running.)

"I DON'T THINK THIS BILL IS WORTH A ROLL CALL. IT'S NOT THAT IMPORTANT. . . ."

(His opposition is keeping a close watch on every vote and this one could hurt back home.)

"THIS AMENDMENT WILL SAVE THE TAXPAYERS A LOT OF MONEY. . . ."

(Enough for a cup of coffee---before the increase---and he knows it.)

"I'D LIKE TO GET OFF THE HOOK ON THIS BILL. . . ."

(He knows the Speaker or President seldom drop anything back in the water once it is hooked.)

"THE GOVERNOR WANTS THIS BILL. . . ."

(He'd die if it landed on his desk, but it's a device usually worked on newcomers.)

"THE GOVERNOR IS A \$%*¢!\$%. HE DOESN'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT RUNNING THE STATE. . . ."

(He just appointed the wrong person judge in the Legislator's district or slipped a veto on a favorite bill.)

"I AM ONLY RECOMMENDING A WORD CHANGE IN CHAPTER 476, sec 7b. . . ."

(All that does is open the welfare flood gates or blows up the Constitution.)

"THAT MINORITY LEADER KNOWS WHAT HE'S TALKING ABOUT. . . ."

(But if I ever voted with him they'd boil me in oil.)

"THIS BILL IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL. . . ."

(This usually from someone who never read the Constitution.)

"I VOTE WITH THE REPUBLICANS OCCASIONALLY. . . ."

(Usually when the bill is as dead as Kelsey's cat.)

"I'M A REPUBLICAN BUT I VOTE WITH THE DEMMIES A LOT. . . ."

(He's watching the exodus of Boston Democrats into his district and he's having nightmares.)

"NOW, IF I WAS SPEAKER, THIS IS WHAT I'D DO, ETC., ETC. . . ."

(He'd be in a rubber room in a month.)

"I JUST REMEMBERED I'VE GOT TO PICK UP SOMETHING FOR MY WIFE AT FILENE'S. SHE NEEDS IT FOR THE DANCE TONIGHT. . . ."

(Ususally this excuse is made just before a major roll call and is known as "Taking a Walk")

* * * * *

* And, Finally, Some Straight Talk. . . .

* "I KNOW I VOTED WRONG, BUT HELL, MAN, I WANT TO COME BACK. . . ."

* (The most honest statement in the General Court. An inside job and no heavy lifting. He's found a home.)

* "I CALL THEM AS I SEE THEM, AND THAT'S HOW I VOTE. . . ."

* (There are Legislators who mean it and do it and often have a tough time staying on, but they are the cement and fibre of the Massachusetts Legislature.)

* * * * *

THE LEGISLATURE - THE POWERFUL
AND THE LITTLE FELLOW

MONDAY-----Legislature passes a bill soaking the powerful.

TUESDAY----Legislature begins to hear from the powerful.

TUESDAY

AFTERNOON--Reconsiders bill soaking the powerful.

WEDNESDAY--Adopts amendments watering down soaking the powerful.

THURSDAY---Word arrives that powerful are not satisfied and campaign contributions will suffer.

THURSDAY

AFTERNOON--Bill soaking the powerful is quietly referred to Committee on Ways & Means with instructions to report new draft on Monday.

MONDAY OF
FOLLOWING

WEEK-----Ways & Means reports new bill, now soaking the little fellow, but making it appear the measure is still soaking the powerful.

TUESDAY----Legislature treads water waiting for little fellow to respond.

TUESDAY

AFTERNOON--No response from little fellow. He has no lobbyist to tell him what's going on.

WEDNESDAY--Brief debate. Bill soaking the little fellow engrossed overwhelmingly.

THURSDAY---Bill enacted and signed by Governor as "Good consumer legislation."

THURSDAY

NIGHT-----Wearied from the rigors of preventing soaking the powerful, the powerful fly off to Florida for a well-earned rest.

ONE MONTH

LATER-----Little fellow finds out he has been "zapped" again. He scratches his head and pokes around for a part-time job to meet the expense of not being powerful.

IF YOU'RE GOING TO GET INTO THE DEBATE
HERE ARE SOME STARTING PHRASES LEADING INTO THE MAIN
QUESTION:

"This is a good bill. . . ."

"This is a simple bill; it only amends, appropriates, etc. . . ."

"This is a dangerous proposition"

"My constituents have requested. . . ."

"I'm a bit confused as to the purpose of this bill. . . ."

"One point in the analysis of this measure is. . . ."

"I am afraid the members misunderstand this bill. . . ."

"This is a well-intentioned bill, but. . . ."

"I am worried about this bill. . . ."

"I agree with everything that has been said, but. . . ."

"I hate to belabor the question"

"I am a bit fearful that the proponents did not. . . ."

"I don't very often disagree with my colleague, but. . . ."

"If this bill is enacted into law, I am fearful. . . ."

"This is another example of government interference. . . ."

"The language of this bill is obscure on this point. . . ."

"I am offering an amendment in order to save the bill. . . ."

"I dislike debating my good friend and colleague, but. . . ."

"I rise for a point of information"

"I have been listening with interest, and might I say. . . ."

"I rise for a point of information. . . ."

"I apologize for holding up the House, but my amendment. . . ."

"This is a clarifying amendment. . . ."

"I don't think this bill has received proper consideration. . . ."

"My amendment is a simple housekeeping amendment. . . ."

"This is a well-intentioned but misguided attempt to. . . ."



GENERAL ELECTRIC NEWS

A Public Affairs Report

Published for the Men and Women of the General Electric Company

Profile of a Legislator

Members of the General Court: Lawmakers for the Commonwealth-Representatives of the People

"... to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men." -- Article XXX -- The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts establishes the forms and conditions of government -- and specifies that this is a government of laws and not of men. Yet, these laws that govern us -- these laws that regulate our behavior, that tax our income and property, that tell us how and when and where we may or may not conduct our business -- these laws are made by men.

Who are these men -- and women -- whose decisions and judgments affect us every waking moment of our lives?

They are 280 individuals, none quite like any other -- yet each having much in common with every other.

What they principally have in common with one another is the job they do -- that of representing their constituents and of regulating and ordering the affairs of the Commonwealth.

To try to understand better these men and women whose daily jobs have such impact on our lives -- and whom most of us know only casually or not at all -- the NEWS recently spent a day with one of them -- Senator John F. Parker of Taunton.

In response to questions posed by the NEWS, and in free conversation prompted by his interest in his work, Senator Parker discusses here the job of an elected representative of the people in Massachusetts.

SENATOR PARKER, JUST HOW WOULD YOU DEFINE THE JOB OF A LEGISLATOR IN MASSACHUSETTS?

The job of a legislator -- whether he's Senator or Representative -- breaks down into two parts, you might say. One part, the one the public usually thinks of, is the job at the State House. The other part of the job is the one that he does in his district.

First of all, every legislator has committee assignments; some are on several committees. These assignments are based, as much as possible, on the legislator's background and experience. A former labor leader, for example, may be assigned to the Labor and Industries Committee, a doctor is likely to find himself on Public Health, and an insurance man is appointed to the Insurance Committee. Most committee assignments are made quite logically, and the leadership in both houses tries as best it can to staff the committees with legislators who have both an interest and a background in the subject.

Take my own case. I had been Mayor of Taunton before being elected to the General Court, and I was immediately placed on the Committee on Cities and the Committee on Municipal Finance.



State Senator John F. Parker, who represents the people -- some 135,000 of them -- from the First Bristol District, is now in his 13th year as a member of the General Court of Massachusetts. Framed here by the gray granite columns of a State House balcony, Senator Parker stands before the new State Office Building now under construction.

Since legislators have more than one committee assignment, they frequently must attend several hearings a week, at least during the early part of the session. When you consider the homework and study that is sometimes necessary to understand the impact a particular bill may have on the Commonwealth, and on the people of a particular district, you can see that committee work alone can keep a legislator pretty busy if he takes his job seriously.

What most people think of when they consider a legislator's job is probably the part of the job that takes the least amount of his time. That's the part of the job he does in the Senate or in the House chamber, where he listens to debate on a bill, where he may speak for or against a bill himself, and where he votes on the bills.

But this act of voting is only the climax to the legislative process; the great bulk of the work has already gone before.

Yet it's interesting that so many people have the impression that those few hours a legislator spends in the Senate or House chamber each day are the legislator's whole job.



"I receive some 1,500 to 2,000 personal requests a year from people in my district. It's not uncommon for the first calls of the day to come in when Mrs. Porker and I are just sitting down to breakfast."

SENATOR, YOU REFERRED TO ANOTHER PART OF THE JOB, THE JOB A LEGISLATOR DOES IN HIS DISTRICT.

Yes. It is in his district where the legislator does the other part of his job. This is where he is the "representative" his voters elected him to be. His job is truly to represent the people who elected him to office.

To someone who has not served in government, who has not been involved in politics, what the people



"... it's interesting that so many people have the impression that those few hours a legislator spends in the Senate or House chamber each day are the legislator's whole job."

of a district may expect of an elected representative may seem, to say the least, unusual. To some, it may even appear not to be at all in the line of duty, so to speak.

For example, I receive some 1,500 to 2,000 personal requests a year from people in my district. Some of these may take only a few minutes to handle, but some take hours, days, or weeks to conclude. And they all have to be answered. Common courtesy alone would require that, but the practical aspects of politics absolutely dictate that these requests be at least replied to. If you were to ignore your constituents, you wouldn't be apt to get elected again -- and I don't think you'd deserve to be.

Some of these requests may seem trivial, but others surely are not. Some are quickly answered, some take a great deal of effort. These requests range over virtually the whole gamut of life.

One man's out of work, he wants my help to get him a job. Another is a veteran with a medical problem, he wants to know about veteran's assistance. This one is blind, she wants to know what state or federal assistance is available to her. This one did not receive her Social Security check, will I look into it for her?

Here's another whose soldier son was injured in a parachute jump in California, can I get him transferred to a hospital near Boston?

Here's a woman who's going to celebrate her golden wedding anniversary this summer. Can I get her brother over here from Poland to be with her on that day? We'll do it -- but can you imagine the time and effort that will take?

Some requests are pretty simple. Someone wants a copy of a bill; I send it. Some are pretty trivial -- someone wants a low-number registration plate for his car.

But they all take time, and they all require an answer. I think everyone deserves an answer, and most other Senators and Representatives have the same experiences and feel the same way. This is all part of the job, and if you take your work seriously, you do it. But people ought to understand that when they elected us they didn't give us a part-time job. It's full-time and then some. The people have made it that.

But the job doesn't end with the legislative work and the personal requests. As a legislator, you're a public figure -- and in some respects public property, I suppose.

Someone opens a new supermarket in your district and you're asked to cut the ribbon at the ceremony. Of course, you do it -- and gladly. A new business announces it wants to build a plant in your district. Would you turn over the first spadeful of ground? Naturally.

A long-time resident is celebrating her 85th birthday. Would you attend the party? Happy to. And say a few words? Sure.

A faithful public servant is retiring after 45 years. Will you be at his testimonial dinner? Of course.

The Chamber of Commerce wants to know how you stand on the sales tax. Would you be the guest speaker at a dinner meeting next week? Yes. A local labor union wants to hear your views on upcoming labor legislation. Would you address the members at an evening meeting? Yes, again. And so it goes. Not one or two nights a week, but three or four or five -- and occasionally all seven.

And in between the committee hearings and the regular sessions and the personal requests and the dinner speeches and the luncheon speeches and the breakfast speeches and the testimonials and the groundbreaking and the ribbon cuttings -- in between these, you sandwich in hours of study on particular bills, you sandwich in some reading and research on subjects pertinent to your committees -- so that when the time comes to speak on this bill or vote on that, you'll be able to do so with some confidence.

"In between . . .

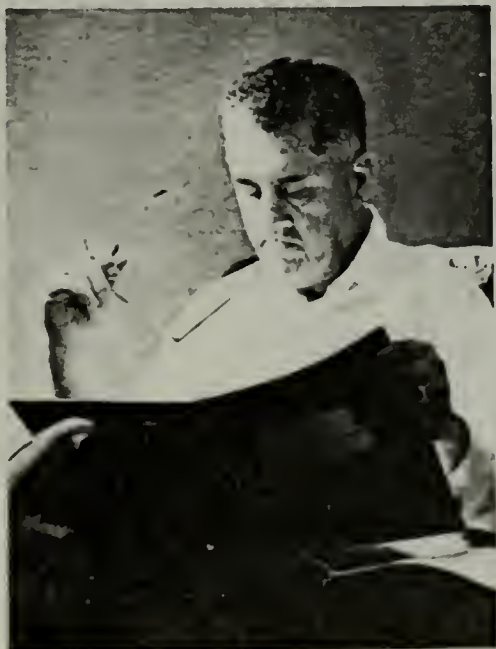
you sandwich

in hours of

study . . .

some reading

and research . . .



When you add it all up, it often comes to a hundred hours a week -- and you sometimes wonder that you've been able to do so much in only a hundred hours.

SENATOR, THE LEGISLATURE IN MASSACHUSETTS APPEARS TO BE HAVING TROUBLE WITH ITS "IMAGE." WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE LEGISLATURE, OR WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PEOPLE IN IT?

That's an interesting question. All of us here at the State House are aware of this situation. About all I can say to that point is that I don't think our poor image, as you call it, is deserved.

I can recall ten years ago people were saying, "Legislators are a bunch of loafers, they're incompetent," and so forth. So ten years have passed. More than two-thirds of the faces in the Senate and two-thirds of the faces in the House are new. Yet people are saying the same thing.

This, by the way, is no reflection on the voters. They have not been sending loafers to the State House. The point is that the basic charge is not true. It was not true ten years ago, and it's not true today.



"There is a great opportunity here for public service -- for making a contribution -- for doing something that has meaning -- for doing something that seems worthwhile."

There were a great many competent men -- and women -- here ten years ago, and there are a great many competent people here today. An indication of the competence of legislators is shown by the fact that many have gone on to become governors, U.S. Senators and Representatives in Congress, superior court and supreme court judges. Others have be-

come prominent in other governmental positions and in business.

Sure, there are legislators some of us might feel don't belong there. But in every kind of activity you find people who don't seem to fit -- in business, in industry, in the universities.

But they were elected by the people of their district, and it is the prerogative of the people to elect whoever they feel will best represent them. And who am I -- or who is anyone not in that district -- to say that the people of that district are wrong, any more than for the people of Pittsfield, say, to decide that the people of Taunton are wrong for sending me to the Senate?

Take any example you want. Pick out the legislator you think is the worst of the whole lot. Maybe he is. But it's not fair to use this one person as an indictment of the entire legislature. This person whom you and I and a million others might consider a misfit is there because he best represents the majority of the people in his district. He votes the way they want him to, he does the things they want done. So they elect him.

He probably couldn't get elected in my district -- but I don't think I could get elected in his.

The point is that there are some people in the legislature who don't seem to us to belong there. But these are an absolute minority. Most of the men and women there are highly competent.

That reminds me of the comments I heard after the pay raise was defeated on the ballot last year. Some of the people in my district told me they voted to repeal the pay raise, although they felt I deserved the raise and that their Representative in the House deserved it. "It was just those other loafers I didn't want to have it."

The curious thing is that every legislator I talked to had the same story to tell. His constituents would have voted for a pay raise for him -- but the others weren't worth it!

I think this illustrates my point that the people in any one district usually get what they consider pretty good representation for the district. But people in different districts have different needs, so I guess it's not surprising that we're not all loved by everyone.

But you must admit it's curious that with so many good men and women elected as individuals that so many people can still look on the whole group as somehow bad.

SENATOR, YOU HAVE BEEN HEARD TO STATE THAT A CONSCIENTIOUS LEGISLATOR CAN, AND OFTEN DOES, PUT IN UP TO A HUNDRED HOURS A WEEK ON HIS JOB. CONSIDERING THAT, WHY WOULD ANYONE WANT TO BE A LEGISLATOR?

That's not easy to answer. With 240 members in the House and 40 members in the Senate, I suspect you might get 280 answers, all different to some extent.

I suspect there are some in the legislature who are there for what they can get out of it -- but I think they are few. Most are there, I think, because of what they can put into it.

There is a great opportunity here for public service -- for making a contribution -- for doing something that has meaning -- for doing something that seems worthwhile. How many jobs do you know of that you can say that about?

The pace is terrific, and not everyone has the temperament for it. And sometimes parts of the job seem very dull and routine and just plain time-consuming. Sometimes you feel you're not accomplishing anything.

But there are the other aspects of the job that make it all seem worthwhile. That, I think, comes from being able to do something for people. It's a form of dedication.

I think most of my associates in the legislature, feel about that way.

State Senator John F. Parker represents the people -- some 135,000 of them -- from the First Bristol District. This includes the cities of Attleboro and Taunton, and the towns of Berkley, Dighton, North Attleborough, Norton, Raynham, Rehoboth, Seekonk, Somerset, and Swansea.

Born in Boston, he attended Taunton public schools and later night school. He began his career as a newspaperman.

His first venture into politics was as a member of the school committee, a post he held for nine years; for four years he was chairman of the committee. Elected Mayor of Taunton, he served for seven years before running successfully for the legislature. He is now in his 13th year as a member of the General Court of Massachusetts.

He is a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, the Committee on Power and Light, and the Committee on Public Safety.

He is the author of, "If Elected, I Promise . . .," a collection of stories, anecdotes, and witticisms from the political scene.

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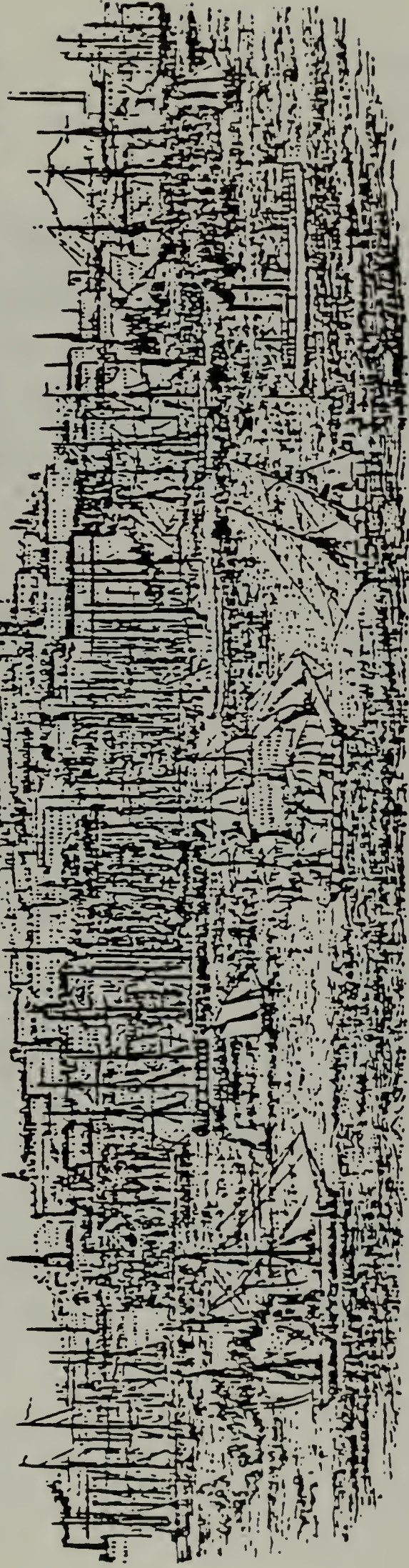
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WEEKLY DRAWING

DRAWING-ROOM

COMPANION



F. GLEASON, 1st WICKES BUILDING, THURSDAY EVENING.

BOSTON, SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1851.

PRICE, 1st THURSDAY DOLLARS PER ANNUM, TEN CENTS SINGLE COPY.

STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

Our artist has given us here an accurate representation of that well known building at the time of the adjournment of the State Legislature, after a long session. The assembled wisdom of the Commonwealth is here represented as about to depart for their several homes in the interior of the State, far and near. They are a motley crowd, a heterogeneous compound of humanity, con-

posed of mechanics, farmers, merchants and professional men; some with strong and powerful intellects, good debates and acknowledged talents, and others with not spunk enough in their composition to say their souls are their own. Had there democracy and whitelaid aristocracy are here commingled, the town had lawyer and the country bumpkin, the city broker and the village curate. Strange elements go to make

up the legislative assembly of the old Bay State. — But this is only a part of the story told by our picture. Let the discriminating reader decipher it for himself, while we jog his perceptions by referring to the noble building that forms the background of the scene. The State House, itself, is a cherished object in the hearts of Bostonians. It is a landmark in most of our terms; arises from childhood to the present time. Town-

ring above the entire city in its terrace form, it is a bold and prominent landmark at sea also, and caps the city with a crown of noble architectural beauty, as seen by a bird's eye view given in the imprint upon the first page of our paper. Of late its grounds have been much beautified and improved by a couple of elegant fountains, whose pearly jets enhance the attractions of the surrounding scene.

NOTE: A reading of the above account of the makeup of the Massachusetts Legislature in June, 1851 - 131 years ago indicates the writer then called it a motley crowd, a heterogeneous compound of humanity, etc. It has never changed for the General Court has always been composed of a cross-section of the population.

HEADS YOU WIN, TAILS . . .

PITY THE POOR POLITICIAN. . . IF YOU ARE A LIBERAL YOU ARE A LEFTIST; IF YOU ARE A CONSERVATIVE YOU ARE A RIGHTIST; IF YOU ARE A REPUBLICAN YOU ARE ANTI-PEOPLE; IF YOU ARE A DEMOCRAT YOU ARE A BIG WELFARE SPENDER; IF YOU GO ALONG WITH THE PARTY LEADERSHIP YOU ARE A POLITICAL HACK; IF YOU DON'T YOU ARE LABELED A MAVERICK.

IF YOU VOTE WITH THE MAJORITY, YOU ARE A RUBBER STAMP, AND IF YOU DON'T YOU ARE INDEPENDENT AND UNRELIABLE.

IF YOU TRY TO PLEASE THE PEOPLE YOU ARE A DEMAGOGUE; IF YOU DON'T YOU ARE A POOR PUBLIC SERVANT.

IF YOU ASPIRE TO HIGHER OFFICE YOU ARE AMBITIOUS; IF YOU DON'T YOU HAVE NO BRAINS AND NO ABILITY.

IF YOU GET NOTICES IN THE PRESS YOU ARE A PUBLICITY HOUND AND HEADLINE HUNTER, AND IF YOU DON'T YOU ARE A "DO-NOTHING" PUBLIC OFFICIAL.

IF YOU SPEAK UP AND EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS YOU ARE A SHOWOFF; IF YOU DON'T YOU AREN'T AWARE OF WHAT'S GOING ON.

T H E R U G G E D I N D I V I D U A L

It seems a young man lived with his parents in a public housing development. He attended public school, rode the free bus and participated in the free lunch program. He entered the Army and upon discharge kept his national life insurance. He then enrolled in the State University, working part time in the State Capital to supplement his GI check.

Upon graduation, he married a public health nurse and bought a farm with an FHA loan and then obtained a Small Business Administration loan to go into business. A baby was born in the county hospital. He bought a ranch with the aid of a GI loan and obtained emergency feed from the Government.

Later he put part of his land in the Soil Bank and the payments helped pay off his debt. His parents lived comfortably on the ranch with their social security and old-age assistance checks. REA lines supplied electricity. The Government helped clear the land. The county agent showed him how to terrace it, then the Government paid part of the cost of a pond and stocked it with fish. The Government guaranteed him a sale for his farm products.

Books from the public library were delivered to his door. He banked money which a Government agency insured. His children grew up, entered public schools, ate free lunches, rode free buses, played in public parks and swam in public pools. The man owned an automobile so he favored the Federal highway program.

He signed a petition seeking Federal assistance in developing an industrial project to help the economy of his area. He was a leader in obtaining the new Federal building and a new post office and went to Washington with a group to ask Congress to build a great dam costing millions so that the area could get "cheap electricity."

Then, one day he wrote to his Congressman:

"I wish to protest excessive Government spending and high taxes. I believed in rugged individualism. I think people should stand on their own two feet without expecting Government handouts. I am opposed to all socialistic trends and I demand a return to the principles of our Constitution."

TO LIVE LONG IN POLITICS

A POLITICIAN NEEDS:

THE HIDE OF A RHINOCEROS.

THE MEMORY OF AN ELEPHANT

THE PERSISTENCE OF A BEAVER.

THE NATIVE FRIENDLINESS OF A MONGREL PUP.

THE HEART OF A LION

THE STOMACH OF AN OSTRICH

THE HUMOR AND UBIQUITY OF THE CROW

THE HOPE OF AN OPTIMIST

THE ADAPTABILITY OF A CHAMELEON

THE PATIENCE OF JOB.

THE GENTLENESS OF A DOVE.

THE WISDOM OF A SERPENT

THE HUMILITY OF A DEACON.

THE GRACE OF GOD AND

THE CRAFTINESS OF THE DEVIL.

BUT ALL OF THESE COMBINED ARE NOT ENOUGH, UNLESS
WHEN IT COMES TO MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE, HE ALSO
HAS THE ORNERY STUBBORNNESS OF AN OLD ARMY MULE.

GOVERNOR BOB BRADFORD'S
FAVORITE POLITICAL OBSERVATION

CITIZENS' LEGISLATIVE SEMINAR

Session Two - September 30, 1976

INFORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEGISLATURE

A Presentation by Senator John Parker

When I received the syllabus for this seminar, I noted that I had been assigned the topic, "The Informal Structure of the Legislature." I interpret that to mean--what is this place all about? What makes it tick?

Well, this is it--as I see it--as candid as I can be.

At the close of this session--shortly--the General Court of Massachusetts will have been in business for a period of 196 years.

The Legislature is where the business of government takes place. No other business in Massachusetts has such a long and unbroken history. This Legislature stands as a symbol that the rights of the people have been secured under Article 19 of the Constitution to assemble in an orderly and peaceable manner to request of the legislative body by way of addresses, petitions and remonstrances a redress of the wrongs done them and the grievances they suffer.

In language you and I understand that means everybody has a right to file a bill in the Legislature and a right to fight for its passage or oppose it.

Therefore, to bring the Legislature into simple focus--it is just like everything else, the family, the church, the corporation or whatever. It is a decision-making group. This year the Legislature will make decisions on some 9,500 bills--voting "Yes" or "No"--never "Maybe," despite the fact that we have some legislators who would like to vote maybe on certain controversial bills.

We have become engulfed over the years by a paper avalanche of bills. Yet it was never intended that way.

When John Adams wrote the Constitution for Massachusetts, he envisioned a House of Representatives made up of people from each of the towns--then including what is now the State of Maine. The end result was a House of 477 members, and a Senate of 40 members.

This representative body--House and Senate--was supposed to leisurely cope with the affairs of state, and it did just that. How else would it take 149 days in the first year to produce 42 laws? Eighty years later, in the first year of the Civil War, the General Court

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handled less than 200 bills. Life was comparatively simple in those days, and the needs of the people were few--or at least the government saw it that way.

During these 196 years the population of Massachusetts has grown from some 300,000 people to almost 6,000,000. There are more people now in Massachusetts than were in the whole 13 colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. In 1780, Boston had about 20,000 people. Now it has over 650,000.

Since John Hancock, as our first governor, warned of oppressive taxes in his inaugural address, depressions have come and gone, industrial revolutions and labor revolutions have waxed and waned. The horse and buggy has come and gone, along with the stagecoach and railroad passenger service. The automobile has come, and the airplane. Textiles have bloomed and died. Immigration has engulfed the state. Education has gone beyond the wildest dreams of Horace Mann, who was once the President of the Senate and the father of public school education. Turnpikes and highways have replaced muddy roads. Towns have blossomed from sleepy villages. Cities have become shells. The poorhouses have gone, replaced by massive welfare programs. We have more aged than ever before. Pension systems are overburdened. The demand for rights has been heard for all sides. The Legislature is under attack as never before from environmentalists, pressure groups, crime problems, drug use, alcoholism, health care, transportation, taxpayers, you name it. Where once government handled a minimum of the people's needs--it is not expected to find a solution to every imaginable human need, ill and desire.

The Legislature tries desperately to cope with a society that has changed a thousand times in the last 196 years and collectively the legislation filed to meet the demands of the people and the dreams of the dreamers would make a pile as high as the John Hancock Building--most of it since World War II. And still, no matter what the General Court does, each year finds it facing more and more complicated problems, spinning off problems we thought we had settled already.

Over these past 196 years, perhaps some 40,000 men and women have served in the House and Senate. They have come in all sizes, shapes and forms. Tall, short, medium, slim, fat and dietary. We have had schemers, dreamers and smart alecs, bomb throwers and gentle souls, salesmen, lawyers, artisans, undertakers, teachers, ministers, priests, former convicts, farmers, businessmen, writers and crooks. Physicians, jugglers and smugglers, labor unionists, housewives, giants and pygmies, veterans and achievers and nonachievers and operators, brilliant minds and dull ignorance, liberals, radicals, conservatives, moderates and barn burners--20-year-old youngsters and 90-year-old venerables--and everything in between--and a whole lot of others who were just looking for a job, or for personal advancement.

all shades and varieties, or scorn them with a vengeance. They will drink and fight and love and hate and be as honest and sincere as God Himself or as courageous as Horatius at the bridge or quickly sound the retreat when the cannonading starts--but a heck of a lot of them, over these 196 years, Republicans and Democrats and whatever, have made enormous contributions to the well-being of this Commonwealth and the nation.

How could 40,000 people be any different over almost two centuries? After all, they are representatives of the people. They are human, with all the frailties and strengths of the people themselves. What has made the Legislature work is that it is made up of all shades of human behavior, structure and class. It is truly the people's forum.

There is no difference now in the character, ability, make-up, the honesty or dishonesty of this Legislature than any other over the past 200 years. Each period of time has had its rogues and ruffians, its giants and midgets, its fits and misfits, its interested and disinterested, its brainy and brainless. It will always be. Some legislators are worth \$100,000 a year. Others are six for a dollar.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is the biggest business in Massachusetts. What else does a \$4 billion-a-year business? This business is directed and controlled by a publicly-elected State Senate of 40 members and a publicly-elected House of 240 members and a Governor also elected by the people.

As Chairman of the Board, the Governor has high visibility. The Legislature has high visibility. The people know it is there, but they don't know much about it. The Legislature also has an unfavorable rating and always has. Individually, legislators have little or no statewide visibility. That was evidence when former President of the Senate Maurice Donahue, after 22 tremendous years in the Legislature, ran for Governor. He was bombed. Minority Leader Philip Graham went the same route and was gassed by the electorate, this despite the fact that he gave thunderous and capable speeches in the Senate, and if the windows were open you could have heard him in Provincetown. His press was great, as was Donahue's, but all that went over the heads of the people. They were legislators.

This past week a Boston newspaper gave low marks on visibility to President Kevin Harrington and Speaker Thomas McGee, despite their enormous contributions to government. Lesser figures had higher ratings.

Legislators are important in their own little district enclaves. I have been in the Legislature for almost 25 years and have had my share of statewide publicity, yet I wager if you stood on a street corner in Worcester or Haverhill or Pittsfield and asked everybody who came along who Senator Parker is, you would draw blanks all over the place.

Each of them--these 40,000 people--came here only because they were elected by their district people. They did not become part of this Legislature by any other means than by election. It was no Christmas gift. It was not handed down by daddy boy. Their presence in this General Court--no matter their character or ability--came about because of the dictates of the voting public, "This is the man, or this is the woman, we want."

If the people were right, fine. If they were wrong, they have a chance to correct it at the next election. So when we find fault with the Legislature and some of its members, and we have a right to, remember they are here by the judgment of those who have the right to vote. No other way.

A newly-elected legislator is thrust into something quite unlike anything he has ever experienced in life, particularly if he has held no previous elected office--and more and more of that type have been coming in here. He or she finds it difficult to fathom the intricacies of legislative intrigue. Often they become disappointed that they go unnoticed. They get little of the action. They have a hard time interpreting the rules, to know what to do under certain circumstances. They often sit dazed in their seats as more experienced and bolder legislators move and maneuver to get things done. He or she might vote "yes" when they mean "no," and "no" when they mean "yes." Every two years the turnover is tremendous.

Some of the toughest decisions in the Legislature are made simply on the basis of one remark to the majority in the House and in the Senate: "The Speaker wants this bill" is generally enough for it to get through with few questions asked, other than a little tickle from the minority. Over in the Senate the word can be, "The President is anxious to roll this one through today," or contra, "We gotta kill this one."

That is all that is necessary. Fall in line or fall out of favor, which could be permanent or temporary, depending upon how much the bill meant to the Speaker or the President.

Legislators are nothing more than human beings. Like all other mortals, they worry, fret and have sleepless nights. They can be militant or indifferent. They will "marry" the Speaker or President (a legislative phrase) or go their way as mavericks, and condemn the system in press releases. They will challenge the storm or ride with the tide. They will specialize or talk on everything. Some will love it; others will hate it. Disillusionment is an ongoing disease. They will make bitter enemies or lifelong friends. They will be brought into leadership or allowed to drift without purpose, committee or recognition. They will beg, barter and trade and sometimes sell out for favorite bills. They will blast away at the microphone or on the floor of the Senate and House. They will stand tall or become spineless, shift, duck, maneuver, dodge and dance. They will involve themselves with special interest groups of

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The daily routine of the legislative board of directors as it fights its way through a mountain of bills and resolves is no different than that of any corporation. The day is filled with decisions, decisions and more decisions. Decisions are worked out in committees. They are worked out on the floor and with the Governor. They are worked out in the corridors with lobbyists, local officials, and in the offices of the majority leaders--sometimes the minority is involved--but rarely on important bills. They are worked out all over the place, including the office of the President and the Speaker. Decisions, decisions, decisions.

Many years ago, Edmund Burke, the great British politician, stated that all government--indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act--is founded on compromise and barter.

In essence, compromise has been and always will be the keystone to effective government. There is nothing that ever passed through this or any other legislative body that did not have as its moving force compromise and barter.

The man or woman who comes here with an uncompromising attitude is doomed to failure. Compromise is the art of government. You take a bill. It looks good. You file it. Immediately it runs into opposition. If you stand against any changes, you lose. If you are willing to make changes, delete poor sections, accept other views, thrash it out, give and take and whatever, you have a chance for its approval. Often a bill when it lands on the Governor's desk has little resemblance to how it came into the legislative hopper. It is worked over a hundred times, not to kill it, but often to make it a better piece of legislation. The plodding workhorse gets things done. He understands the art of compromise.

I do not say compromise, as a give-in on principle. Some of the most honorable, decent and best legislators I know involve themselves in compromise daily, in order to get the best legislation possible.

The Legislature is a place where defeat, victory, pride and achievement are daily activities. Aspirations and frustrations tug away at men and women from every side. Disappointments come with each printing of the daily calendar where adverse reports outnumber favorable reports six or seven to one. Sometimes the people back home can't understand why you can't get things done. But you only have one vote and there are 239 others in the House and 39 more in the Senate. So what do you do? Very simply, you become part of the system--or you find greener pastures or head for the sunset. There is no point in being here if you can't accomplish something. That is what your constituents send you here for, accomplishment.

I must point out here, however, that it is harder for the minority to accomplish much of anything than it is for the majority. As always, the minority is at the mercy of the majority. And the majority has the

votes to slam anything through or defeat anything, regardless of what the minority has to say in pointing out the follies or advantages of certain legislation.

I don't say it works out that way on every measure--that the "we's" and the "they's," meaning Republicans and Democrats, are the determinants --for very often, coalitions spring up to pass or defeat a measure before the House or Senate.

A case came up this very week that underscores what I have to say on coalitions. Mayor Kevin White had filed a bill to impose a 1 percent payroll tax on employers in the City of Boston or any other town which accepted the act. The bill was easily admitted in the House without debate. It required a four-fifths vote for admission. When it came to the Senate, I, as the Republican Floor Leader, and my two assistants, Dave Locke and Bill Saltonstall, spoke out against the admission of the bill. We assumed we would get run over as we almost always do. Democratic Senator Joe Walsh from Boston and some others, including Senator LoPresti, spoke in favor of the measure. Then a break came, and the next thing we knew, a black Senator, Bill Owens, Democrat, gave the bill a going over and we had him on our side. Then the vote came and the bill was refused admission by a 20 to 11 vote, with Democrats and Republicans together preventing the bill from coming in. This was one of the rare instances where the minority effectively blocked a piece of legislation with Democratic votes.

But here, I might add, the power of the President was not in evidence. If President Harrington desired to turn on the heat, the outcome might have been different. The bill might have been admitted. He didn't do it.

Which brings me around to power and its use.

When this government was first formed, in 1780, there were no political parties and therefore no need for majority and minority leaders. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House were the power barons. They had it all and some of them exercised great power and influence. Names like Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, David Cobb and Samuel Dana, who forced Governor Gerry to sign a redistricting bill in 1808, and which placed "gerrymander" in our language forever after. They were tough and bold men, as were Speakers Nathaniel Gorham, Samuel Otis, Artemus Ward and others. The country had just started and it needed men at the head of the Commonwealth who did not waver and fold under pressure. They used power to get things done as did many others after them.

So legislative power has always been with us. It is a necessary, though often distasteful, ingredient of the legislative pot.

With the introduction of party governments in the early 1800s and the selection of leaders, committee chairmen and assistants, power became

a mighty influence with both the Senate President and the Speaker. Whether it be Whig or Federalist, Democrat, Republican or whatever, power has been the name of the game on Beacon Hill.

Since 1780 the Senate has had about 83 Presidents, the House about the same number. Many of these Speakers and Presidents arrived at the pinnacle because they understood power, used it to get to the top and most of them used power whenever they needed it in order to pass, kill or sidetrack legislation, help the Governor, or hurt him. It's a game as old as John Hancock's wig. Other Speakers and Presidents were weak and were manipulated by power barons and brokers, often to the detriment of the Commonwealth.

So, power is everything here in the Massachusetts Legislature. It has extended itself in recent years from the Speaker and President to others in the majority party. Now there is great power in the majority leaders, the chairmen of committees, and most of all, incredible power in the chairmanships of the House and Senate Ways and Means Committees--power sometimes beyond imagination. Life or death of a bill or a budget rests here. Sometimes a burglar couldn't get a bill out of those committees.

In the nearly 24 years I have been in the Senate, I have been in the majority only six of those years. The other 18 years have been controlled by the opposition party. The House record is much longer, dating back to 1949, some 27 years of Democratic rule, and the exercise of power. I might add the same kind of power was exercised under Republican rule, and perhaps thoughtfully, I might add there have been a few modern embellishments.

In any case, Democratic or Republican, the role of the minority is often depressing, frustrating and futile. Each passing day, you stand on the floor of the House or Senate and whack away at bills which your judgment and those of your colleagues in the minority feel might be wrong.

Sometimes the debates rage on for hours. You try amendments, parliamentary maneuvers, postponements and just plain bombastic oratory, hoping the press will pick up the cause or some group will rise to your defense, and when it doesn't happen, you go down to defeat, usually 33 to 7 or any part thereof. Members of the minority often grow weary of being constantly against proposed legislation, hardly ever being able to really enact anything on their own or halt the tide.

Every legislative body needs a responsible minority as much as it needs an effective majority. One-sided government leads to tyranny, reckless and abuse of power. To whatever extent it can, the minority acts as the brake on runaway power and in truth is the conscience of the Legislature. We point out the mistakes and hope our colleagues will take notice.

It's a sight to see, on a difficult bill, where the minority is carrying the mail and the members of the majority are weakening and breaking away from either the President or the Chairman of Ways and Means. Sometimes the roll call comes out against a red-faced President of either party or the Chairman of Ways and Means. Then the heat goes on and the arm-twisting begins and as I said, it is a sight to behold. You've got to be strong not to change your vote--because if they really want the bill, they get it. I have seen it a hundred times or more on the floor of the Senate. Now, this is all out in the open, so I'm not telling tales out of school. Presidents of the Senate get the finger going, the whips corner recalcitrants, a few trades are made, someone takes a walk, a minority member or two might fold up--they count heads and zippo, the bill wins by a single vote or two. That's raw power and they may be right on the issue.

There is an old story, which you no doubt have heard as it applies to a legislator who changed his vote and was asked if he had seen the light. His answer was simple and honest. "Hell, no," he responded, "I felt the heat."

So power is everywhere here--and always has been.

An evidence of the use of power occurred several years ago when John Powers was President of the Senate. A bill on the calendar involving the Boston Under-Common Garage. It was contentious, and when the vote was cast, Senator James Corbett voted against Powers. Corbett then immediately left the Senate and went to the men's room and into a toilet where he bolted the door. An angry Powers raced after him, got down on his hands and knees, pulled on Corbett's legs and finally forced him out of the toilet and back into the Senate where Corbett changed his vote to give Powers a victory.

Senate President Kevin Harrington uses power, and a humorous though untrue story has been around the State House for several years involving Harrington. I use it now to illustrate to what ends power can be carried to gain a point.

It seems a committee member refused to sign a bill, and therefore the measure could not get out onto the floor for debate. The committee chairman tried every means at his disposal to get the member to sign the report to no avail. The chairman then appealed to Harrington, who called the recalcitrant into his office. No sooner had the senator entered when Harrington grabbed him by the throat and shouted: "If you don't sign that report right away, I'll knock your teeth down your throat after I have broken both your legs." Then he eased off and the committee member went back to the chairman, stating meekly, "I'm ready to sign that report."

Puzzled, the chairman said, "How come you will sign it for Harrington and you wouldn't for me?"

"Well," said the frightened member, "you didn't explain it to me as clearly as he did."

When the House cut came up in Joint Constitutional Convention a few years ago, the State House was heavy with tension and bitterness. It looked like the House cut would be made by a couple of votes. When the voting started, Speaker David Bartley unleashed his assistants to browbeat the members into voting against the cut. They succeeded in knocking down a couple of votes, but not enough. When the vote was announced, it was short two votes. Then the power of the Speaker took over, and the members were assailed from every direction. The leadership picked on known weaklings, bending them in plain view of packed galleries and unbelieving senators and House members, who never imagined that such power and pressure could be unleashed. Finally, a couple of the members collapsed under the strain. Their names were called and they changed their votes. Other members had voted and raced out of the chamber, but Bartley knew the power of the Speaker's office and how he could win over. He did, demonstrating enormous power and winning the fight against reducing the size of the House of Representatives and postponing the action for at least a couple of years.

During redistricting of House and Senate seats, the President and Speaker wield enormous power, which has helped to reduce the Republican minority still further in both branches. However, on one occasion when the Senate redistricting plan came to the floor, the Republicans walked out leaving the Democrats alone in the Senate. That demonstration of minority power helped in a realignment of minority seats and halted complete domination by the majority. On that occasion, the power of the Senate President was thwarted. He was angry and railed against the minority, but the press picked up the situation and helped the minority win its case, at least partially.

There are many instances of Presidential and Speakership power. What they want they get, and very often the minority cries out that all they are dealing with are trained seals. Fearful of the loss of their committee assignments, members of the majority jump through hoops at the request or signal from the rostrum.

When Donald Nicholson was the powerful President of the Senate, he was pushing bills through one day as fast as he could get them from the Clerk. He would intone, "The ayes have it. The ayes have it," on and on.

Near the end of the bill passing, a minority Democrat rose and shouted, "I don't think the ayes had it on that bill." Nicholson looked out from the rostrum and stated, "The ayes always have it when I'm in the chair."

Evidence of power is in this statement.

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Over the years, the parties in the Senate have used the cloture rule to cut off debate, forcing a vote within an hour. Usually the Senate President directs this move. In the House, the Speaker will order the doors closed, holding everybody in the chamber for a vote.

There are so few Republicans in the Senate that with a full complement of 40 senators, the majority can prevent a roll call. President Harrington has used his power to do this on at least one occasion and again has failed to recognize a standing senator, slamming a tax or budget bill through without a roll call or standing vote.

In all directions--legislative, committee assignments, staff or whatever--the Senate President and House Speaker wield enormous power--some say too much.

In mentioning these few incidents, I don't want to give the impression this is a House of Evil. It is not. Neither is it a church. Presidents use power and often are required to do so or the place would become a shambles; a lot of it is good. Minority Leaders often have to use power also. I recall the sales tax debate under Governor Volpe ten years ago. It hinged on a single vote. One of my minority senators was heading for the hills. He wasn't going to vote for it. I took him into my office and gently persuaded him he had better vote for it, using a few reminders of favors my office had done for him. It was all nice and businesslike, and I never believed the story he told later, that I had twisted his arm so badly that he couldn't lift a highball glass for a week.

The power and influence of President Harrington and Speaker McGee is very great indeed. A few years ago, there was no extra pay for committee chairmen. They did the work and received the same pay as nonchairmen. In the past few years, committee chairmen received extra pay for the work and deservedly so. Where once to be made chairman of the Public Service Committee was a penalty and undesirable, now there is contention for the job. The President now has some 25 extra-pay committee chairmanships to hand out to senators and the Speaker has a number also. These legislators who get these assignments are expected to come through when the President needs their votes. And if I were in his position, the same would apply.

President Harrington is a capable senator and an outstanding President. He willingly takes the heat for mistakes or weaknesses of his colleagues and has been willing to do things for legislative betterment that other Presidents would not bother with. He is a partisan, and so am I, but not a religious minority-hating, antibusiness partisan--although he has a few dislikes. He knows everybody loses if the minority and majority set up open, bitter, uncompromising warfare. I understand that also.

So, therefore the relationship between myself and the President is a respectful one. We scratch and bloody each other as Republican versus Democrat, but collectively can dispose of certain stinky bills on agreement. Partisan Democrat-Republican bills such as redistricting or certain election measures understandably call for party versus party. We understand that also.

This President at times consults the minority on different measures when he has trouble within his own ranks. There is no off-limits to his office. He absorbs enormous pressures and occasionally blows a gasket, either at his own people or at the minority. He is absolutely awesome when he is angry. An hour later he'll give you his shirt. I wouldn't know what to do with his shirt, other than make a sail for my boat, it's so big. But in any event, he understands power, party politics, the rules, the foibles, the strengths and the weaknesses of this legislative body. And he knows when everybody hides under the rug he has got to face the issue head on. That's why he's President and that is why Jim Kelly is Chairman of Ways and Means.

The topic of the informal structure of the Legislature is a fascinating one, if not unbelievable, and could go on for hours.

This particular Legislature has no free flow, Democrat or Republican, within the Governor's office. Where once the Governor's office was intertwined with our daily activities, now generally it is a distant, unfathomable entity, drawn away from the hurly-burly of the House and the Senate. The present Governor wants it that way. Other Governors worked the corridors and committee rooms and leadership offices and tried to develop an interplay with both parties--and it seemed more effective--but to each his own style.

As far back down as you want to go into the dusty past, occasionally, corruption has reared its ugly head in this Legislature. I mention that because your syllabus speaks to the question. We have suffered the sadness of it--lives wrecked and ruined--but again, man for man, year upon year, what happens here happens on the outside as well. People are people--temptation is temptation. I don't condone it, but it has happened along with colossal mistakes in judgment. Just think what would have happened if the Legislature had constructed the John Hancock Building with all its problems, not of corruption to be sure, but bad judgment on glass windows!

I hope, friends, I have given you enough grist to grind into questions in your individual group discussions, and I thank you.

Scapegoatism and the Legislatures

BY ALBERT J. ABRAMS*

Deputy Secretary of the New York Senate

It is always open season on lawmakers. And it has always been so. When the legislature of Massachusetts convened at Concord in the 1700s, a noted philosopher of the community warned his neighbors to "close your door tightly; the legislature is convening."

Generation after generation, the legislatures have borne the heavy yoke of abuse. It is as though our democratic milieu demands we harass them as a token of our civic righteousness.

The lawmaker who attempts to do a forthright job of policy-making, of evaluating executive performance, of apportioning public funds between competing forces, and of acting as economic umpire too often loses public support or respect. A great many able legislators quit and we fail sometimes to recruit our best talents into the legislature because of this.

The causes of endemic scapegoatism are numerous. True, the aroma of scandal has hovered over many legislatures. True, the legislatures have not eliminated the impression of hasty action, archaic procedures and venal submission to lobbyists. But the basic causes for the low esteem of legislatures lie deeper.

The legislature is composed of generalists. But they deal with the problems of specialists — doctors in public health legislation, teachers in education, economists in taxation, management in price-fixing. Each professional or specialist group feels it can do a better job than the generalist-lawmaker who must fall back largely on common sense to evaluate alternatives. The elite groups, the opinion-makers and the professionals, tend to reinforce one another in their hostility to or demeaning of the legislature.

Additionally, the legislature in its basic role as economic umpire is pretty sure to be attacked by both sides in a dispute. The "spenders" will attack the legislature's parsimony; the "tax-savers" will assail its profligacy; labor leaders, its pro-industry bias; industry, its pro-labor ties. Nobody fetes the ump.

Few appreciate that the legislatures, generation after generation, have been the target of the nation's most powerful seducers — the land speculators who opened the country, the railroad barons who followed, the utility magnates, the insurance trusts, the oil and banking monopolists. Each generation of legislators has had to withstand the magnetism of Big Money.

And yet, despite all the abuse, some deserved, some ill-deserved, the legislatures, in the words of the TV commercial, "must be doing something right." For the nation has flourished; the economy has endured depressions and wars; and the states, despite the blunt challenge of regionalism and federal expansionism, are doing a brisk \$42 billion a year business with no sign of decline.

Legislative leaders, unlike Delilah who snipped Samson's hair, cannot take some simple step to under-cut scapegoatism. They can, however, reduce recurrent attacks by a variety of approaches. They need to dress up, staff up, equip up — in sum, shape up.

Our scapegoatism dilemma will not be curbed until the public understands the multiple missions of the lawmaker and until the legislator himself is sensitive to his many functions. Citizen groups need to rally behind legislatures, for without strong legislatures our freedom withers, our future shrivels. An adequate salary level needs to be advocated by citizens, so that lawmakers can be spared the humiliating need for pleading for a salary boost for themselves or resorting to devious expense allowances.

The man who never made a mistake

A great number
of otherwise well-qualified
men

never seem to rise
above a certain level.

They seem to have
a deathly fear
of ever being
wrong.

They never want
to make a decision
because they never want
to make a mistake.

If it is your goal
in life to be
known to your associates
as the man who
never made a mistake,
then be prepared
to be known also
as the man who never
really

accomplished very much.

Today, make a few
decisions

on your own.

They may be right
or they may be wrong.

But you made them—

WHEN YOU'RE FEELING IMPORTANT!

SOMETIMES, WHEN YOU'RE FEELING IMPORTANT
SOMETIMES, WHEN YOUR POLITICAL EGO'S IN BLOOM,
SOMETIMES WHEN YOU TAKE IT FOR GRANTED
YOU'RE THE BEST POLITICIAN UNDER THE DOME
SOMETIMES, WHEN YOU FEEL THAT YOUR GOING
WOULD LEAVE AN UNFILLABLE HOLE,
JUST FOLLOW THIS SIMPLE INSTRUCTION
AND SEE HOW IT HUMBLER YOUR SOUL
TAKE A BUCKET AND FILL IT WITH WATER
PUT YOUR HAND IN IT UP TO YOUR WRIST,
PULL IT OUT; AND THE HOLE THAT'S REMAINING
IS A MEASURE OF HOW YOU'LL BE MISSED.
YOU MAY SPLASH ALL YOU PLEASE WHEN YOU ENTER,
YOU CAN STIR UP THE WATER GALORE,
BUT, STOP, AND YOU'LL FIND IN A MINUTE,
THAT IT LOOKS QUITE THE SAME AS BEFORE.
THE MORAL IN THIS QUAIN EXAMPLE,
IS TO DO THE VERY BEST YOU CAN,
BE PROUD OF YOURSELF, BUT REMEMBER,
IN POLITICS---THERE'S NO INDISPENSIBLE MAN.

IF EVERYBODY FEEDS OFF EVERYBODY ELSE WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING THEIR SHARE
EVERYTHING FALLS APART - GOVERNMENT IS NO EXCEPTION

A LESSON:

Put 100 men on an island where fish is the staple article of sustenance

Twenty-five of the men catch fish.

Twenty-five others clean the fish.

Twenty-five cook the fish.

Twenty-five hunt fruit and vegetables.

The entire company eats what thus has gathered and prepared.

So long as everybody works there is plenty. All hands are happy.

AND THEN:

Ten of the allotted fish gatherers stop catching fish.

Ten more dry and hide part of the fish they catch.

Five continue to catch fish, but work only part of the time.

Fewer fish go into the community kitchen.

But the same number of men insist upon having the same amount of fish to eat as they had before.

The fifty men who formerly cleaned and cooked the fish have less to do owing to the undersupply of fish. But they continue to demand fish.

Gradually greater burdens are laid upon the fruit and vegetable hunters. These insist upon a larger share of the fish in return for their larger efforts in gathering fruit and vegetables. It is denied them and soon twenty of the twenty-five quit gathering fruit and vegetables.

But the entire 100 men continue to insist upon their right to eat.

The daily food supply gradually shrinks.

The man with two fish demands three bananas in exchange for one of the fish. The man with two bananas refuses to part with one for fewer than three fish.

Finally, the ten men remaining at work quit in disgust. Everybody continues to eat. The hidden fish are brought to light and consumed. Comes a day when there is no food of any kind. Everybody on the island blames everybody else.

THE MORAL:

For anything to succeed, everybody has to carry his or her share of whatever the burden. Government is no exception. It cannot survive if everybody just wants to eat, steal, hoard, use, loaf, gamble, grab, demand, barter and insist upon a share of the vegetables and fish without contributing to the common good.

"LEADERSHIP"

IMPORTANT INGREDIENT OF GOVERNMENT ON ALL LEVELS

Today's political leaders on all levels appear to have little notion of what to do about the massive problems confronting them. Although they have been elected by the people to fulfill the responsibilities of office, many of them came into office on sledgehammers hammering negatives against everything in government. The day-to-day consultation of public opinion polls directed their campaigns. Many candidates have taken 90 degree swerves based on a public opinion poll. Instead of leading the people they have based their hope for political success on following them. They determine what it is they are to do on the basis of what an uninformed public momentarily decides, often still by blatant demagoguery.

Professor Gary L. McDowell of Dickinson College makes an important point, "Leadership," he said, "has more to do with telling us what we need, more than asking us what we want. There is a fundamental flaw in the transient foundation of populism which differs from the firm foundation of republicanism."

In Number 71 of the Federalist Papers a concept of leadership is presented, not the "servile pliancy of the executive to the prevailing current either in the community or in the legislature - but an executive willing to dare to act his own opinion with courage and decision."

"It is the task of leadership first to make the hard decisions and then to educate the people as to their worthiness," said Professor McDowell.

Concerning the relationship of leadership and public opinion, the late Walter Lippman pointed out that "...though public officials are elected by the voters, or are appointed by men who are elected, they owe their primary allegiance not to the opinion of the voters, but to the law, the criteria of their profession, to the integrity of the science in which they work, to their own conscienciousness which they have sworn to respect."

Lippman noted that the duty of the electors is "to fill the office and not direct the office holder."

Unfortunately this principle has been more or less abandoned. Today's politics finds men closest to power are the pollsters and the public relations men. They seek the policy which will "sell" regardless of whether or not it will work.

In the 1830's a citizen of Massachusetts suggested to John Quincy Adams that his job as a Congressman was to register exactly their views on public matters. The ex-President replies that for such a job clerks were available, that his idea of representative government was that a man sent to Washington (or the State House) was to represent not the transitory views of his constituents, but was to exercise his judgment in which such constituents had shown confidence by electing him. If the constituents disagreed he argued, they could turn him out at the next election.

Commenting on the view that a representative's opinion should always be consistent with the views held by 51% of those registered and voting in his district, it can be said "If the latter were truly desirable, we could have running democracy without any difficulty at all by simply plugging in Dr. Gallup to a big IBM machine and turning the dial...Why have any elected officials at all? Why not just constantly submit questions about everything to the voters, and let them decide directly?"

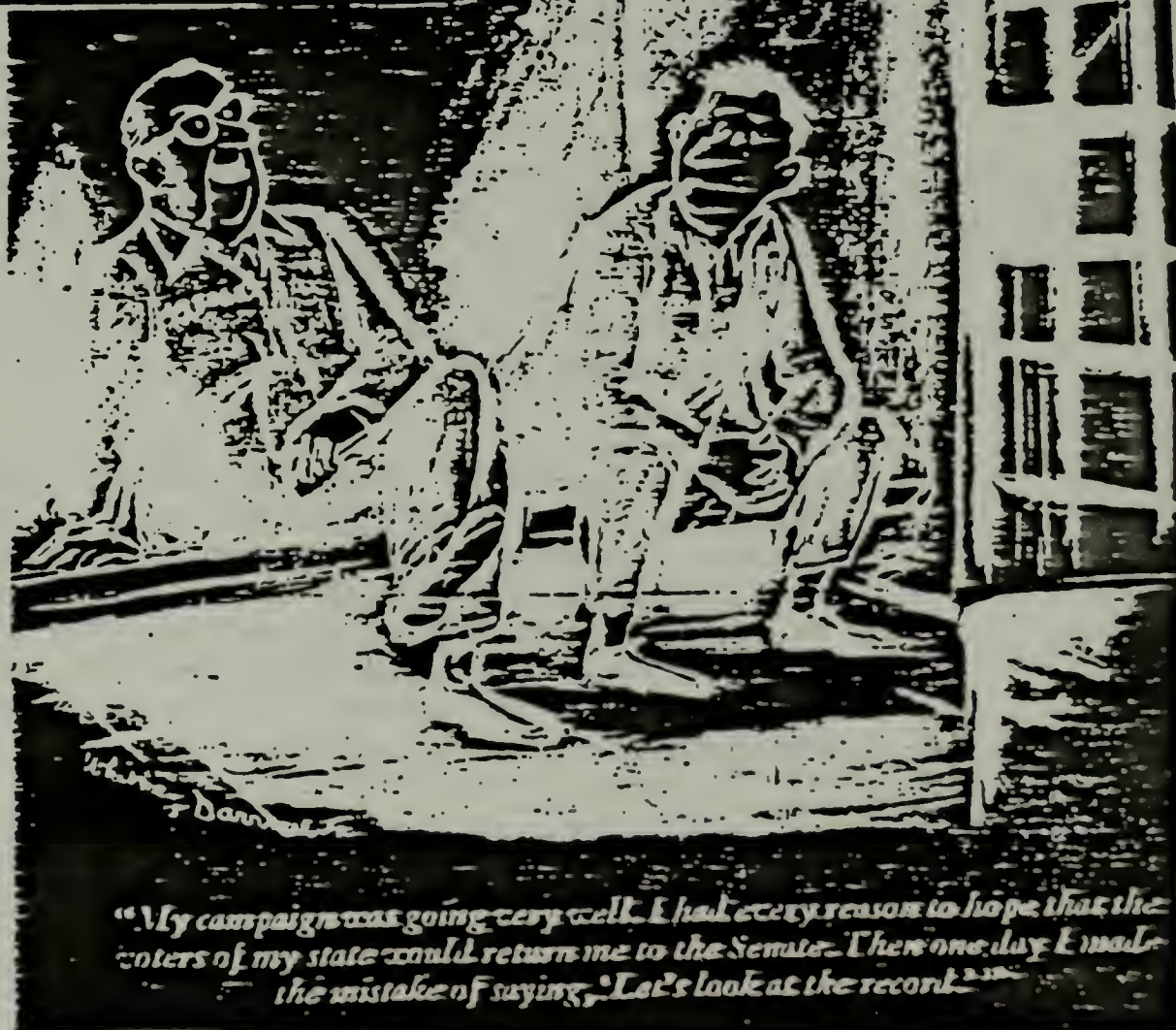
The role of a leader is to pursue the public interest, not to follow the transitory views of momentary majorities which may, in fact, contradict that interest.

IT'S A TOUGH LIFE



"I'll run over and pick up my unemployment check, and then go over to the U and see what's holding up my check on my Federal Education Grant, and then pick up our food stamps. Meanwhile you go to the Free VD Clinic and check up on your test, then pick up my new glasses at the Health Center, then go to the Welfare Department and try to increase our eligibility limit again. Later we'll meet at the Federal Building for the mass demonstration against the sinking, rotten establishment."

TOP POLITICAL CARTOONS OF RECENT YEARS



"My campaign was going very well. I had every reason to hope that the voters of my state would return me to the Senate. Then one day I made the mistake of saying, 'Let's look at the record.'"

PRINCIPLES AND OTHER POLITICAL THOUGHTS
OF SOME GREAT MEN

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Andrew Oliver, a Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor in old Colonial times had this to say about public office:

"Politics is the most hazardous of all professions. There is not another in which a man can hope to do so much good for his fellow creatures. Neither is there any in which by a mere loss of nerve he may do so much widespread harm. Nor is there another in which he may so easily lose his own soul. Nor is there another in which a strict and positive veracity is so difficult. But danger is the inseparable companion of honor. With all the temptations and degradation that beset it, politics is still the noblest career that any man can choose."

Horace Mann, one-time President of the State Senate and father of public school education once said: "In our country and in our times no man is worthy the honored name of statesman who does not include the highest practicable education of the people in all his plans of administration. He may have eloquence, he may have knowledge of all history, diplomacy, jurisprudence and by these he might claim, in other countries, the elevated rank of statesman; but unless he speaks, plans, labors, at all times and in all places, for the culture and edification of the whole people, he is not, he cannot be, an American statesman."

James A. Farley had this to say on the matter of principles in politics: "Never compromise a principle, but in politics one advances one's principles often by accepting less than one had tried to get, and then moving on from there. But compromise is a delicate thing. A man has to live with himself, and if compromise means that one is not going to be able to sleep nights, then don't do it."

Benjamin Franklin knew the stark realities facing men who held public office. He commented as follows: "We must not in the course of public life expect immediate approbation and grateful acknowledgement of our services. But let us persevere through injury and even abuse. The internal satisfaction of a good conscience is always present, and time will do us justice even in the minds of those at present the most prejudiced against us."

A politician weakly and amiably in the right is no match for a politician tenaciously and pugnaciously in the wrong. You cannot by tying an opinion to a man's tongue make him the representative of that opinion and at the close of any battle for principles his name will be found neither among the dead or the wounded, but among the missing.--Whipple.

Edward Everett, one-time Massachusetts Governor had this to say to a House member who was in a rage over a Boston newspaper editorial severely criticizing the legislator. "Now don't go and punch the editor in the nose or demand an apology. Do nothing, my friend, because half the people who read the paper did not see the editorial. Half of those who saw the editorial didn't read it. Half of those who read it did not understand it. Half of those who believed it were of no consequence anyway."

Governor Frank Allen of Massachusetts once said: "The politicians who escape criticism are the insignificant. No one attempts anything worthwhile without starting the fault-finders. How many of our Presidents and Governors got through their terms of office without being cruelly criticized? Not one, of course and the greatest of them were the ones most savagely found fault with. One who takes such criticism to heart will not prove equal to holding any office."

John W. Forney, a Washington newsman once said: "Is it not true that when we elect a man to office, we at the same time unconsciously encourage others to tear him to pieces? What public man can escape slander? Our best candidates for office are not saints. Our best senators and representatives are not divinities. If we establish an angelic standard for our public men beyond reason, we are not only sure to fail but perhaps to end up in making a hereditary monarchy necessary to govern and subdue a dissatisfied people."

Governor James M. Curley was badly maligned during much of his service as mayor and Governor. To those who continually offered suggestions and criticized him, Curley would recite a favorite poem:

It's easy to sit in the sunshine,
And talk to the man in the shade.
It's easy to sit in a well-made boat
And tell others just where to wade.
It's easy to tell the toiler
How best to carry his pack,
But you never know the weight of the load
Until the pack is on your back.

Winston Churchill just about summed up the position of all politicians when he said: "The most essential qualification for a politician is the ability to foretell what will happen tomorrow, next week, next month and next year---and to convincingly explain afterwards why it did not happen."



A SENSE OF HUMOR
ESSENTIAL TO LEGISLATIVE SURVIVAL

* * * * *



Under the Golden Dome a sense of humor becomes an important part one's survival kit. Fun and laughter have marvelous capacities to keep things in perspective in both the House and the Senate--especially egos.

Laughing at our own failings makes things tolerable. Observing the foibles of colleagues also makes for better government as it offsets the stiffness and tightness that so often becomes part of the legislative process.

Honest laughter is important and much of it comes from the verbal missteps and bloopers during the height of debate. Here is a small collection of expressions that come out when a legislator's tongue gets ahead of his brain:

HOUSE:

- * "That's a horse of a different feather. . ."
- * "Not listening to my colleague is like a college education. . ."
- * "This information is so valuable it ought to be put away in the argyles. . ."
- * "That was a low blow between the belt. . ."
- * "We have just listened to a niagara of words and a drought of reason. . ."
- * "I don't know why it is but every time I take the microphone some fool starts talking. . ."
- * "The banker's pockets are bulging with the sweat of the honest working man. . ."
- * "I haven't made up my mind as to how I'm going to vote on this bill. I would like to hear myself talk about it for a few minutes before I decide. . ."
- * "No man can be in two places at the same time unless he is a bird. . ."
- * "If we wait any longer it will be too late to lock the barn after the horse is stolen. . ."
- * "It would be well if this House had more of the Pilgrim backbone flowing through its veins. . ."
- * "The people want clean, fresh pasteurized milk and it is up to us to take the bull by the horns and see that they get it. . ."
- * "I don't care if this bill is in the public interest, I'm sticking with the people. . ."
- * "One-hundred per cent valuation is a myth, but it is a reality. . ."

- * "If Cal Coolidge were alive today to witness the actions of this House he'd roll over in his grave. . ."
- * "There comes a time to put principle aside and do what's right. . ."
- * "Let's violate the law one more year. . ."
- * "From now on I'm watching everything this House does with a fine tooth comb. . ."
- * "I smell a rat and I intend to nip it in the bud. . ."
- * "I'm well aware the lady member across the chamber is a self-made man. . ."
- * "The policies of this administration are such that it has cut the wool off the sheep that lays the golden egg until it has pumped it dry. . ."

SENATE:

- * "I believe in capital punishment as long as it ain't too severe. . ."
- * "We must return to Massachusetts all the good things it never had."
- * "I don't like to be backbitten to my face. . ."
- * "If we pass this bond issue we'll kill the goose at both ends. . ."
- * "What have we here a golden cow that wants its cake and eats it as well. . ."
- * "These are not my figures I'm quoting. They are the figures of someone who knows what he is talking about. . ."
- * "I've got more brains in my head than my colleague has in his little finger. . ."
- * "We need this bill like a horse needs a fifth wheel. . ."
- * "Life imprisonment is too short a term to be a deterrent. . ."
- * "We should take the bull by the tail and look the situation straight in the eye. . ."
- * "I will tell this Senate that 99 per cent of my constituents are 100 per cent behind me on this bill. . ."
- * "I want to make it perfectly clear that the exact figures I'm quoting on this budget are only approximations. . ."
- * "This bill goes to the very heart of the moral fibre of human anatomy. . ."
- * "I've tried everything else to convince this Senate, now I'm going to be sensible. . ."
- * "Mr. President, from the heart of my bottom I thank the Senate for the favorable vote it has given my bill. . ."

Real Politicians don't

REAL POLITICIANS DON'T DRINK WHITE WINE.

REAL POLITICIANS DON'T WEAR DESIGNER JEANS.

REAL POLITICIANS KNOW THE PRESIDING OFFICER DOESN'T UNDERSTAND THE RULES.

REAL POLITICIANS PAY FOR THEIR OWN MEALS - BUT ONLY IN CROWDED RESTAURANTS.

REAL POLITICIANS DON'T SAY "AGRI-BUSINESS;" THEY SAY "FARMERS."

REAL POLITICIANS NEVER READ THE BILLS.

REAL POLITICIANS KNOW IT'S NOT THE WHISTLE THAT PULLS THE TRAIN

REAL POLITICIANS DON'T WEAR LAPEL PINS.

REAL POLITICIANS ALWAYS VOTE FOR THEIR OWN PAY RAISES.

REAL POLITICIANS KNOW JUDGES ARE LAWYERS WHO GOT TIRED OF WORKING.

REAL POLITICIANS MEAN WHAT THEY SAY, BUT DON'T ALWAYS SAY WHAT THEY MEAN.

REAL POLITICIANS DON'T BOTHER WITH NEWSLETTERS UNTIL SIX MONTHS BEFORE THE ELECTION.

REAL POLITICIANS NEVER SPONSOR BILLS.

REAL POLITICIANS KNOW THE BUREAUCRACY IS ESSENTIAL TO CLEAN UP THE TRASH THEY PASS.

REAL POLITICIANS KNOW THE PROBLEM WITH NEWSPAPERS IS THAT THEY HAVE TO COME OUT EVERY DAY.

REAL POLITICIANS NEVER GO TO SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS.

REAL POLITICIANS NEVER SEND THANK YOU NOTES FOR A VOTE.

REAL POLITICIANS KNOW THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A FREE GIFT.

REPRESENTATIVE BOB BARNES

COLORADO LEGISLATURE

THE POPULAR ELECTION OF THE HOUSE SPEAKER - SENATE PRESIDENT

(OPINION BY STATE HOUSE REPORTER RAYMOND BRIDGMAN)

(1394)

BY SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER

There have been many remarkable and competent members of the Press who have covered State House activities over the years. In the long ago, State House reporters would remain on their assignments for decades. Nothing escaped them and they knew every nook and cranny of the State House and what was going on. They developed instincts and a certain osmosis. They understood human nature and were quick to spot the opportunists, the legislative or gubernatorial schemers, the know-it-alls and the like.

Two of those remarkable men were Raymond Bridgman, who served as a State House reporter for 40 years back around the turn of the century and Paul D. Ryan, who spent 57 years as a State House reporter and editor of the State House News.

Much of what both Ryan and Bridgman had written, along with splendid stories by other fine writers have been lost, but suffice it to say they believed simply in the newspaperman's theory of getting the story and getting it right, with no wrong quotes, nothing slanted, no personal views---just the truthful facts and no editorializing for they contended that was not a reporter's job.

With the recent agitation over the power of the Speaker and the Senate President as indicated by the wide-spread press coverage and the fall of Speaker Thomas McGee, some research was made on what it was like to be a Speaker or Senate President in the long-ago years which many people mistakenly feel were days of great glory and high-mindedness.

An article by Raymond Bridgman in the New England Magazine of September, 1394 smashes the theory of old-time sainthood among Speakers and Senate Presidents. If anything politics nearly 100 years ago was far more brutal, personal and reprehensible than the brand of politics played these days on Beacon Hill. Present-day Speakers and Senate Presidents are pussy-cats as measured against the men who controlled the Massachusetts Legislature in the Gay 90's and in the long ago political eras of the Commonwealth.

Bridgman's article is a stunner and he felt matters were so bad in the Speakership and in the office of Senate President that a reform should be supported which favored the election of the presiding officers of both legislative branches by vote of the people. He called for a change in the Constitution to effect this suggestion. "Popular choice," wrote Bridgman, "is the response to despotic rule and the time is ripe to support changes in the Constitution that Speakers and Senate Presidents shall be elected directly by popular vote."

In his splendid article on Massachusetts politics Bridgman commented on the changes that have come about in campaigning styles and political methods and the great and growing power of the offices of House Speaker and Senate President. "There are evils inherent in the system," wrote Bridgman, "and are common to human nature..."

In attacking the system by which House Speakers and Senate Presidents are elected by vote of their colleagues, Bridgman had much to say and he pulled no punches when he reported as follows:

"Modesty is an unknown term. Political aspirants have kicked it out the door and crossed the word out of their vocabulary.

"The contests for the chairs of the House and Senate is more in the dark. The contesting forces are more under cover. The methods used are more reprehensible.

"It is not the man who has the best knowledge of parliamentary law, joined with the soundest judgment and readiest aptitude is applying it, who is most likely to be elected to the presiding place in the Legislature, but the man who is most lavish of his money and promises, who has the strongest corporation support, and who will add personal solicitation, most persistent and bare-faced to his other influences, who is likely to carry off the prize.

"Men with a high sense of honor and personal dignity refuse to engage in such a scramble. Repeatedly, I have known men who were better qualified for the office than the man who was elected, but who absolutely refuse to employ such means. They have stood upon their honor. Base means have succeeded and the state has lost the services of its best qualified men, while the administrations of the successful candidates have been characterized by the low moral tone which made their campaigns successful.

"Threats of injury to business have been made by a candidate against men whom he wanted to bring to his support. Flattery and fear are equally available to compel support. Anything is held to be proper, if it only brings the votes for Speaker or President.

"After the election of the presiding officer it is not uncommon to see desirable committee places filled with active campaigners for the winner, with small regard for qualifications in comparison to the best men in the General Court. Sometimes entire committees have been packed with men who helped elect the successful candidate, while his opponents have been consigned to the least desirable places, no matter how worthy their abilities.

"The presiding officers of legislative bodies are of more importance than the chief executive, for the laws are superior to the man who enforces them and the men who are most influential in making the laws are hence the most important in the entire government.

"The governor has no voice in the enactment of laws, except when he has a qualified veto. But the role of the presiding officer is vital. By the appointment of the committees which hear and report upon propositions and legislation, he has a powerful influence from the outset.

"It rests with the man who names the men who must consider measures to say whether or not such measures shall have the prestige of a favorable report, or shall reach the Senate or House with the burden of an adverse report already upon them. Everyone knows that the Speaker and President, as active legislators have more influence than any other men.

"Another phase of the power of the presiding officers is in the personal influence which they have upon the fate of measures under discussion. This influence is not legitimate. It is highly improper that it should be exercised at all. Presidents and Speakers are human, too human in their weaknesses.

They have their positive opinions upon bills under discussion and the temptation is sometimes too great. They cannot keep their hands off.

"Their influence upon the members is felt every day of the session and it is nothing short of despotic. The power of the presiding officer is such that no appeal from the ruling of the chair can be, or ever is overridden. Many have tried, all have failed. The prestige of the chair, combined with the generally admitted hopelessness of an appeal, makes it certain that no house will ever overrule its Speaker.

"Thus the Speaker is an autocrat. He is made so by his power and by the fear of the members. Cautious men are careful how they incur the displeasure of the Speaker or President. Shrewd men play for his support for it would hurt their chances if the Speaker were against them. Ambitious men who have frequent occasions to catch the eye of the Speaker will never make him so blind that he cannot see them, by opposing his views upon questions of parliamentary law.

"Peaceful men who pray for harmony and who fear nothing more than disturbance in the equable course of proceedings will always side with the Speaker or President for the sake of keeping everything smooth and pleasant, no matter whether the Presiding officers are right or not.

"These motives act upon men's minds, regardless of the fact, the more tyrannical he is, and the less scruple he has about using his enormous powers recklessly and wantonly, and the easier it is for him to sacrifice any member to his ill will, the more certain is it that the House and Senate will bow to his imperious temper and that independence and courage will be lacking to assert what is right, no matter if the presiding officers are wrong.

"Many members of the Legislature in both branches are downright cowards when their personal standing is at stake. For the sake of getting a coveted committee position they will vote for a candidate for presiding officer whom they know is inferior. In order to keep on the right side of the presiding officer, so that he may recognize them and thus give them an opportunity to develop their views they will fail to resist the aggressions of the chair. They suffer him to play the tyrant, not only by not opposing him, but actively aiding him by their support.

"Men who would scorn to steal, or to commit highway robbery, will throw away the property and interests of the public rather than lose their familiarity with the Speaker, which can mean important committee and commission assignments.

"At all times there is danger that an unscrupulous Speaker or President may be chosen. The prize is great. Temptation to use the power of the office as a means of securing election to it is strong.

"Equally strong is the temptation to employ the office as a means of perpetuating the power of the incumbent. It is not safe for the state to permit this condition to continue.

"One great evil of the present system is that the chances of electing the best man are poor at best. Sometimes there are exceptions and a President or Speaker is chosen, who is generally admitted to be the best man in the entire body for the office. But the chances are against this good fortune, and the facts are against it, too, according to my long observation of the political scene on Beacon Hill.

"An open, fair-minded comparison of the worth of the several candidates for House Speaker or Senate President, statewide, would exalt the office, would strengthen the organization of the Legislature, would increase the interest of the members in the respected man of their sober and impartial choice and would thus tend directly to improve the quality of the legislation and to shorten the sessions.

"Hence, taking these truths into account, the prospect is that popular elections of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, would result in the choice of abler men, in more efficient organization and in the more speedy and accurate transaction of business, and this in the manifest promotion of the public welfare."

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COMMENT:

SINCE DAY 1 OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT THE ROLE OF SPEAKER AND SENATE PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES. FEW SPEAKERS OR PRESIDENTS HAVE ESCAPED THE CHARGE OF "TYRANNY," "IMPERIALISM," "DICTATOR," ETC. RAYMOND BRIDGMAN'S ARTICLE ABOVE IS BUT ONE OF MANY WHICH COULD BE SURFACED POINTING OUT THE "ABUSE OF POWER" OR "CONTROL" OF MEMBERS AS INTERPRETED BY CRITICS.

IN ASSUMING THE SPEAKERSHIP OR SENATE PRESIDENCY, LEGISLATORS HAVE OFTEN COMPLAINED OF THE "MISERIES" OF THE JOB. MANY TIMES TRUSTED LIEUTENANTS HAVE GONE SCUR: THE PRESS HAS BATTERED THEM UNMERCIFULLY; THEY BECOME INVOLVED IN VARIOUS INTRIGUES AND MANY HAVE TRIED TO DO THE JOB ON A HIGH LEVEL OF JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY. THE SPEAKERSHIP AND SENATE PRESIDENCY HAVE BEEN THE END-ALL FOR MANY PRESIDING OFFICERS WHO HAVE SEEN THEIR "HIGH HONOR" CRASH IN A CLOUD OF DUST.

OTHERS HAD RIDDEN IT OUT, SACRIFICED MUCH IN THE PROCESS AND FINDING THE SPEAKERSHIP OR THE SENATE PRESIDENCY THE "END OF THE ROAD." STILL OTHERS HAVE GONE ON TO GOVERNORSHIPS, U.S. SENATE, CONGRESS; THE JUDICIARY AND THE PLACES OF IMPORTANCE IN THE POLITICAL AND PRIVATE LIFE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

NO MATTER WHAT, THE SPEAKERSHIP AND THE PRESIDENCY ARE EXHILARATING POSITIONS. THERE IS NEVER A DULL MOMENT. DESPITE BEING COMPELLED TO DEAL WITH VARIOUS AND SUNDRY EGOS, INCREDIBLE PRESSURES AND NEVER-ENDING REQUESTS, FROM A DEMANDING HOUSE OR SENATE AND ALL THE POUNDING BY THE PRESS, LOSS OF SLEEP AND WHATEVER, THERE NEVER HAS BEEN A SHORTAGE OF CANDIDATES FOR THE SPEAKERSHIP OR THE PRESIDENCY.



Boston Common, Beacon Hill and the State House seen from the Back Bay, 1844. (Detail of an aquatint after a drawing by John Warner Barber, courtesy the Boston Public Library.)

"THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE THEY STAY THE SAME....."

Government was instituted for the common good of all, and legislation is a privilege which is indispensable to the success of government.

But, like many good things, legislation may be abused. Once a year a delegated council assembles at the State House in solemn conclave to take into consideration the evils which afflict the body politic. The symptoms of the patient are discussed with grave profundity, and every political doctor finds some disease which he magnifies in importance, and for which he has an unfailing remedy.

The poor patient is physicked and bled, depleted and stimulated in turn, until the political empirics have exhausted their stock of bills, and leave their patient to recuperate his powers by the help of a strong constitution and an elasticity of frame, which fortunately, is proof against both diseases and remedies.

Seriously, we are groaning under the burden of over-legislation. This is not an evil, real or fancied, affecting the people directly or remotely, which, judging from past experience, is not regarded as a legitimate subject of legislative inquiry.

Bills are passed for which there is no call, and the public often finds themselves subjected to experimental laws of the operation of which they can know nothing except from the dear-bought experience.

All whose corporate or individual interest can be affected by legislation look upon the period when the Legislature is in session as a trying time.

They examine the legislative reports with jealous watchfulness. They breathe freer when that body has adjourned and are grateful if their rights and privileges have not been encroached upon or their interests affected by the intermeddlers who regulate and control the affairs of the Commonwealth.

Special and experimental legislation is a growing evil. It is a drawback on the enterprise of the people and gives to property an insecurity which is prejudicial to the interests of the state.

It lengthens the sessions of the Legislature, involving a direct expenditure of thousands of dollars annually by way of compensation to members for discussing subjects which had better be left unacted upon.

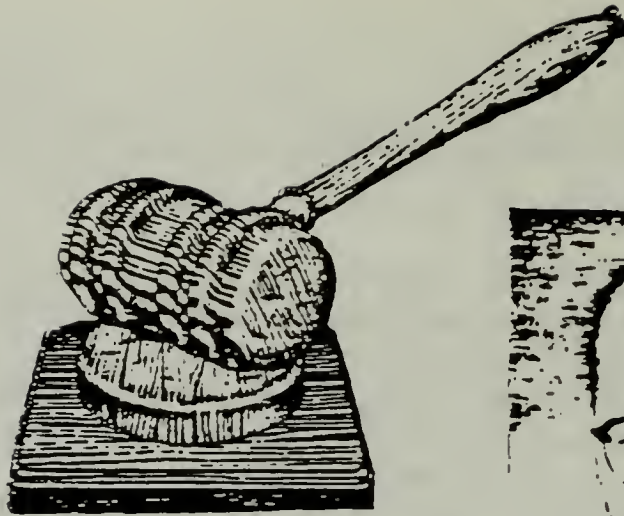
It cumbers the statute books with unwise and unnecessary laws and it is a fruitful source of party warfare and personal intrigue and corruption. This great evil should be remedied, and yet it is not easy to suggest a cure which would be radical.

The most feasible mode of attacking the evil is to select such men only for candidates to the Legislature as are sound, practical, common sense businessmen, and to eschew all schemers, visionary reformers, and noisy demagogues, of which classes of our Legislature often have a too liberal infusion.

NOTE: This article appeared in the Boston Daily Journal, more than 130 years ago, April 29, 1853.



DAVID MICHAEL BARTLEY



HIGH DRAMA AT THE
STATE HOUSE
"THE HOUSE CUT"
(FEB. 25, 1970)



MAURICE A. DONAHUE

BY SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER

Unfortunately, there is no day-to-day, on-the-floor record of the happenings of the Massachusetts General Court and its ebb and flow of debate.

Such records as are available are the House and Senate Journals. However, in these daily journals there is no indication of the verbal combat, the roaring confusion, the human element, etc. These documents spell out the items debated, the amendments, roll calls, etc., but that is all. The electricity, the tension, the sheer power of debate, cross-fire, maneuvers, logic, anger, emotion is not indicated in the journals.

The records of mighty debates on the House and Senate floors are left to the newspapers, and in recent years to the State House News. Thus has been lost a great deal of the flavor of the struggles of men and women to place legislation on the Commonwealth's books or to kill it.

Here and there, some historian picks up a certain House or Senate debate on a vital issue of the times, but his recording of such comes from no official journal of the Legislature, for there is none, telling who said what and how he said it, or who chopped up his opponent during a slam-bang floor encounter.

In the early years of the State Legislature, there certainly were many powerful and convincing orators and speakers in both branches. Samuel Adams was one of them.

Those early legislators, for the most part, were courageous men. The stakes were high as a young state tried to find its place in the new country just formed after the Revolution. They had little truck with legislative gadflies. Had they not been men of enormous principle, the deadly issues might not have been solved.

While the early Massachusetts legislators were a dedicated lot, they, nevertheless, engaged each other in violent and personal debate. They may have finally pulled things together for the common good, but before that on the House and Senate floors they cut each other up pretty badly. They had the freedom to do it without interference from the mother country, and many took advantage of that right.

The early House of Representatives chamber, made up of some 700 or more citizens, was a veritable sardine can during an important debate. Representatives jammed into every nook and cranny, galleries and all. The roar of voices was beyond imagination. The House Speaker often had difficulty maintaining order, and more than once broke gavels in a vain effort to control the wildness of the place.

Gradually, the House membership was reduced from a high of over 700 down to 240 in 1858, which number remained until 1974 when, again, the people voted to further reduce the House membership down to 160, where it now remains.

In the old House Chamber (now the Senate Chamber), many amazing orators held forth, including Daniel Webster, who spoke out often on great issues of the day. He honed his skills for debates to come later as a United States Senator.

Here in this old chamber were fought the major battles of more than 100 years, before the chamber was turned over to the Senate and the House went into its new chamber in 1895.

During the 1870's, at least four gavels were broken as the Speaker attempted to maintain order during a wild debate over Civil War pensions, with veterans storming the lobby outside and inciting their legislators to action.

In the early 1880's Democratic House members, in opposition to the creation of a Metropolitan District Police force, became so unruly that again several gavels were broken. The presiding officer had to finish the debate with a claw hammer as no more gavels were available. In the course of the raucous debate, when charges and counter-charges became so heated, the Democrats walked out in a body, refusing to vote on the issue. It was pandemonium.

Several years ago, following an acrimonious debate over Senate redistricting, the Republican minority walked out in protest against legislation denying the black area of Boston an opportunity to elect

its own state senator. The minority was threatened with arrest, denial of privileges, etc. Finally, the matter cooled, the minority returned to the Senate and the black district was conceded.

Each generation of legislators, back into time, had had its electrifying moments on issues of the day. Courage, weakness, strength, righteousness, disappointment, elation, deceit, high-mindedness have all had their play. Every conceivable human emotion has surfaced during the pros and cons of important issues. There is always the sweetness of victory or the agony of defeat. It has always been that way in the Massachusetts General Court.

THE HOUSE CUT

For sheer high drama, nothing over the past two or three generations can compare with the legislative events of February 25, 1970, when the stormy issue of reducing the Massachusetts House from 240 to 160 members came before the Constitutional Convention.

This issue, long sponsored by the League of Women Voters and taxpayer groups, had been killed off several times but now had reached the point where a favorable vote would place it on the state ballot for adoption or rejection.

Governor Francis Sargent had put his prestige and political clout behind the issue. Newspapers editorialized in favor of the issue. Public interest was at a high pitch. Every legislator felt uneasy as the pressure mounted. They were under the gun from labor unions, who were against the cut, and citizen groups who were in favor.

House Speaker David Bartley was vehemently opposed to the reduction in the size of the House. Bartley was faced with some defectors in his own Democratic ranks. While he realized that Republican minority policy might be for a House cut, the possibility existed that he could induce some of them to vote his way.

To place the issue on the ballot required only 70 votes out of 280 potential House and Senate votes in the convention. The 70 could be obtained no matter how many legislators showed up--the full complement or whatever. 69 votes was the magic number for Bartley.

A confident Governor Sargent contended he had the votes to win the day. The Governor opened his office and invited a number of fence-straddlers to talk the issue over with him. Bartley did the same, and a steady stream of legislators flitted in and out of the Speaker's office.

The betting was that Sargent would win the battle.

The tension in the chamber and in the corridors was incredible as the hour of 2 o'clock approached. The galleries were packed solid with pro and con citizens. The lobbies had never seen so many animated people eagerly searching out their legislators. League of Women voters were everywhere as were the Democratic Women on Wheels button-holing against the cut. It was a hectic scene outside the House chamber and along the corridors.

Extra capitol police were on duty and every court officer available was pressed into service to hold back the crowds.

Shortly before 2 o'clock, the 40-member Senate left its chamber under the direction of Senate President Maurice Donahue and headed for the House chamber through lines of interested citizens, flashing cameras and the news media. There was no laughter and smiles as the Senators moved toward the House chamber. This was going to be a tough day, and everybody knew it.

Under Convention rules, the Senate President presides at Joint Conventions. President Donahue took over the gavel, banged it, and opened the session as an air of expectancy filled the chamber. He looked out at galleries packed solid with pro and con citizens and a press gallery into which were jammed every newspaper writer within fifty miles of Boston. The Senate-House attendance was solid. Nearly all seats were filled.

A no-nonsense presiding officer, President Donahue recognized various legislators who wished to talk on subjects other than the House cut. The first issue, a unicameral legislature proposal touched off a hot exchange between several speakers.

While the debate on the Unicameral Legislature was going on, Speaker Bartley's legislative team, led by Majority Leader Tom McGee, worked the aisles, arguing, pleading, cajoling, and some say, threatening (not proven), legislators in both parties. It was a sight to behold.

While Donahue was holding the fort, Bartley was back in his office working on some opening remarks and muscling last-minute holdouts.

Governor Sargent's minions were calling legislators out into the lobby and guiding the doubtfuls down the corridor to the Governor's office, where Sargent used his own brand of persuasion.

Many legislators stayed away from the chamber, tucking themselves in State House hideaways waiting only for the roll call. Their minds had been made up. No sense in being bent out of shape by either Bartley or Sargent. Others found the comfort of bars and restaurants stating, "When the roll call comes up, I'll be there".

Despite the hide-away legislators and those who were "taking a walk", the attendance was heavy in the House chamber.

Finally, the agenda was cleared of other matters and now came the moment for the vote on the Reduction of the Size of the Massachusetts House from 240 to 160.

It was an historic moment as House Speaker Bartley moved from the rostrum to the Speaker's stand in the well of the House.

It was approaching late afternoon as the Speaker spread his notes on the podium. There was a hush throughout the chamber and everyone expected a bombastic, accusatory tirade from the Speaker. His face was tired and strained, for he had fought this issue with an intensity that would have collapsed a lesser man.

Instead of flaming charges, condemnation, high blown rhetoric and cutting words, Bartley's speech was conciliatory and one of sincerity and consideration for those who had fought the issue from both sides. The Speaker said it was far from unusual for the Governor and the Legislative branches of government to be locked in bitter debate over a basic issue.

It was difficult to tell from Bartley's manner if he felt he had the votes and there was no need to upset the apple cart or if Sargent had the votes and the ball game was over and the Speaker was trying to play the good loser.

A parade of legislators followed Bartley to the speaker's podium. The remarks of many of the legislators brought cheers and applause or boos and hisses from the galleries, compelling President Donahue again and again to bang his gavel for order.

It was now around 6 o'clock and the convention had been opened since 2 o'clock. Matters were winding down on the floor, but the intense work of pinning legislators to change or hold their votes went on. Every legislator had his own set of worries and hopes.

Strain was everywhere in the Chamber as the President of the Senate finally ordered the Senate Clerk to call the roll of Senators who would be the first to vote on the issue. The Senate Clerk called the names of each Senator in alphabetical order, with each senator present responding "Yes", or "No".

The count was 13 Senator in favor of the House cut, the remainder against. The 13 votes looked good, and murmurs of satisfaction rolled through the galleries. All the proponents would need was a count of 57 House members and the ball game was over for Bartley. The House cut advocates would win. Surely, the galleryites thought, there were 57 House "Yes" votes out of 240 members. The odds were good.

Again, the Chamber went into a hush as the House roll call came up, and the green "Yes" buttons or the red "No" buttons flashed on the tote boards on each side of the chamber.

Unbelievably, the tabulation was 58 for the House cut and 162 against. All that was needed was 70 votes, and the 58 House votes together with the 13 Senate votes added up to 71 votes. It looked like school was out for Speaker Bartley as the chamber erupted into a roar and the galleries cheered and stamped their feet.

President Donahue banged the gavel fiercely as Bartley rushed off the rostrum and plunged into the malestrom below, heading for a certain legislator.

Cries of "Call the vote, call the vote" were ignored by President Donahue. He stood at the rostrum stoically watching Speaker Bartley. Bartley had work to do and Donahue knew it.

In a few minutes, now well beyond the time for announcing the vote, President Donahue recognized Representative Walter O'Brien, (R) Raynhan, who stated his vote had been tabulated "wrong". He had wanted to vote "No", instead of "Yes". This was declared and the magic count went down to 70, still a victory for the House-cut advocates.

Donahue still did not bang the gavel to announce the vote. He was watching Bartley as the Speaker and several other legislators were working on Representative John Dolan (R) of Ipswich.

As this scene was going on, Representative Paul J. Corriveau, (D) Sturbridge, who had not been recorded, voted "Yes", bringing the count back to 71--one more than was needed. Bartley's ship looked like it was sinking and still President Donahue did not announce the vote. He coldly stared at legislators in the well screaming for the vote to be called.

At this moment, Senator Andrea F. Nucifero, (D) Pittsfield, one of the most respected legislators in the State House, hurried into the Chamber and down the aisle. Senator Joe Ward, (D) Fitchburg, and others surrounded him, and the conversation became quite heated and animated. All eyes were on the action as a few seats over Bartley continued to work on Dolan.

Suddenly, Nucifero moved to the House well, raised his hand and changed his vote from "Yes" to "No".

The total was now back to 70, and groans and whistles filled the chamber. The din was almost unbearable. 70 votes was still a win.

Still President Donahue did not bang the gavel. Had he done so, Bartley's cause would have been lost. The Roll Call had now been open for over 30 minutes.

The whole deadly drama now moved to Representative Dolan's seat in the first division where the Ipswich legislator, an extremely popular House member, was under fire as never before in his life.

Probably no legislator in history was ever put under such intense pressure. Bartley knew it was Dolan or nobody. It was too late to expect someone else to change. Dolan was sweating and uncomfortable as Bartley made his points eyeball to eyeball. Other legislators pitched in also.

A thousand eyes were on Dolan and Bartley. Finally, Bartley moved away. Dolan rose to speak but did not make it and slumped back into his chair. He then took a deep breath and, again, rose slowly to his feet, stating, "I wish to change my vote to 'No'".

This brought the count down to 69--one less than the required 70 votes. With a thunderous smash of the gavel, President Donahue closed the Roll Call--the House cut defeated by a single vote.

As the vote was announced, Representative Dolan was smothered with well-wishers, some legislators jumping on desks to get near him.

As the roar of the victors echoed through the Chamber, the pro-house-cut supporters were stunned. Several legislators rushed to the rostrum demanding to be heard. Others, who had not voted, stated they were denied their rights. President Donahue shrugged them off. It was too late. The roll call had been open for 30 minutes. They could have voted. They played their own game and lost.

The advocates of the House cut, including Governor Sargent, called the whole thing "dirty politics", "a charade", "the worst disaster good government had ever suffered", and a few more unkind comments.

However, Mike Beatrice, a Boston Globe political writer of that period, put the situation in perspective in his next day's column by stating, "Politics may be described as the art of compromise, a rationalization for bending on principle."

"But politics is winning. It is not to be confused with fairness. It's conflict of power. And within such limited rules as 'keeping one's word', and 'not revealing confidences', everything else is pretty much open to persuasion in whatever form, be it patronage or reprisal."

"There are specified rules", continued Beatrice, "for conducting joint sessions so that rights are protected. But the presiding officer--in this case President Donahue--has power and control. He used these to maximum efficiency to gain victory for his side of the issue."

"But Donahue prolonged the ending until opponents of the amendment had accomplished their purpose on the House floor. No one close to politics would expect Donahue or any other presiding officer to do differently. This type of politicking is standard procedure on the matter of legislation. Usually it goes on behind closed doors. In this case the entire episode was visible."

Speaker David Bartley, hero to some, villain to others, defended his position and his tactics in killing the measure which would have reduced the size of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

The Speaker focused on the meaning of "leadership", and he argued it in this manner:

"What is leadership all about? It is my responsibility as House leader to influence as many votes as possible in favor of my position. That is all I did."

Thus ended the most dramatic and tumultuous day of this legislative generation, February 25, 1970, when the House cut was lost by a single vote. One of Speaker Bartley's colleagues put it succinctly when he said: "Leadership sometimes is gold carriages and white horses. On other occasions it can be brutal and ugly. To be a true leader one must win when the chips are down, such as in the deadly struggle to cut the House. Bartley proved that day he was a leader. A lesser man would have been blown away."

Note: By defeating the House cut on February 25, 1970, Speaker Bartley delayed for four years a vote on a reduction from 240 members down to 160. Even as he chalked up his astonishing victory on that cold February day, Bartley knew the handwriting was on the wall. It would be only a question of time before the matter would be on the ballot for voter action.

And the issue did finally reach the ballot in 1974 and was overwhelmingly approved by the people 1,128,315 to 302,008. The Massachusetts House now operates with 160 members, still one of the largest number of any state in the Union.

Whether or not, with the trend now to dilute a Speaker's power, will any future House Speaker be able to demonstrate Bartley's brand of leadership again is questionable. The game now is to dilute leadership. The day of the strong man may be over, and Bartley may have been the last of the breed whose theory was simply: "You negotiate, argue, explain, plead and appeal to friendship. If that don't work, you start playing hardball."

Like many of his predecessors in the Speaker's chair, David Bartley was good at hardball.



RULES AND ORDERS

TO BE OBSERVED IN THE

SENATE

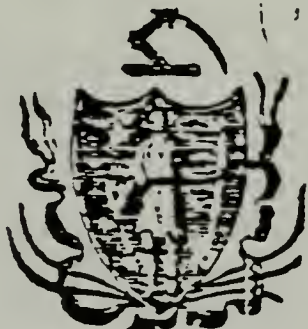
OF THE

Commonwealth of Massachusetts,

FOR THE YEAR

1816.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SENATE



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1816.

RULES AND ORDERS.

I.

Every Member, when he speaks, shall stand in his place, and address the President, and, when he has done speaking, shall sit down. And when the President speaks, he shall address the Board.

II.

No Member shall speak more than once, on one question, to the prevention of any other, who has not spoken, and is desirous to speak; nor more than twice, without obtaining leave of the Board.

III.

No Member shall interrupt another, while speaking, except to call to order, or to correct a mistake in point of fact.

IV.

When the Senate are called to order in the morning, the Journal of the preceding day shall be read, and the orders of the day for the assignment of business shall also be read, or stated from the chair.

NOTE

On these pages are the Rules which governed the State Senate 169 years ago in 1816. There were only 21 Rules for the conduct of Senate business. Now there are 64 Rules.

Old-time Rules in both the House and the Senate were streamlined and simple. Former Legislators believed in uncomplicated and understandable Rules.

V.

A motion, when seconded, and not before, shall be received and considered; and if desired by the President, or any other Member, shall be reduced to writing, and laid on the table.

VI.

After any question is put to a vote, no Member shall speak to it.

VII.

No vote shall be re-considered, unless a motion be made for the purpose in the presence of as many Members as were present at the time of passing the vote; and when a motion for re-consideration is decided in the negative, that decision shall not be re-considered.

VIII.

The yeas and nays on any question shall be taken, when requested, by one-fourth part of the Members present, and not otherwise.

IX.

Questions of order may be debated, like other questions, but shall be decided by the President without appeal.

X.

A question, containing two or more propositions capable of division, shall be divided whenever desired by any Member.

XI.

No Bill shall pass to be engrossed without being twice read; nor shall a Bill have a second reading unless a time (not less than an hour) be assigned therefor; and before any Bill shall pass to be enacted, it shall be reported, by the Committee for the examination of engrossed Bills, to be truly copied from the original, and the title thereof read by the President.

XII.

Upon the second reading of a Bill after the same shall be read through, and before the question is put upon its passage, it shall be read and considered by paragraphs, unless such reading by paragraphs shall be dispensed with by the Board.

XIII.

An amendment proposed may be amended before it is adopted, but not afterwards, except the vote adopting it be first re-considered.

XIV.

The nomination of Committees shall be made by the President, except in those cases when it may be determined the elections shall be by ballot.

XV.

No Member shall absent himself from the Senate without leave, unless there be a quorum left present at the Board:

XVI.

No question upon any application of a private nature, having been decided upon by the Legislature at one session, shall be taken up and considered again at the next session of the same General Court.

XVII.

No rules shall be dispensed with, except by the consent of two thirds of the Members present.

XVIII.

There shall be no debate upon a motion of adjournment.

XIX.

The President may read sitting, but shall put the question standing.

XX.

There shall be a Committee of five persons, any two of whom may constitute a quorum, whose duty it shall be to examine all Bills and Resolutions, immediately before the same shall pass to be engrossed, to compare their relations with the Constitution, and any existing Laws relating to the same subject matter, and to see that all such Bills and Resolutions are in the technical form, and they shall be denominated "The Committee on Bills in the second reading."

XXI.

No Member of the Senate shall act as Counsel for any party before any Committee of the Legislature.

EXPECTATIONS

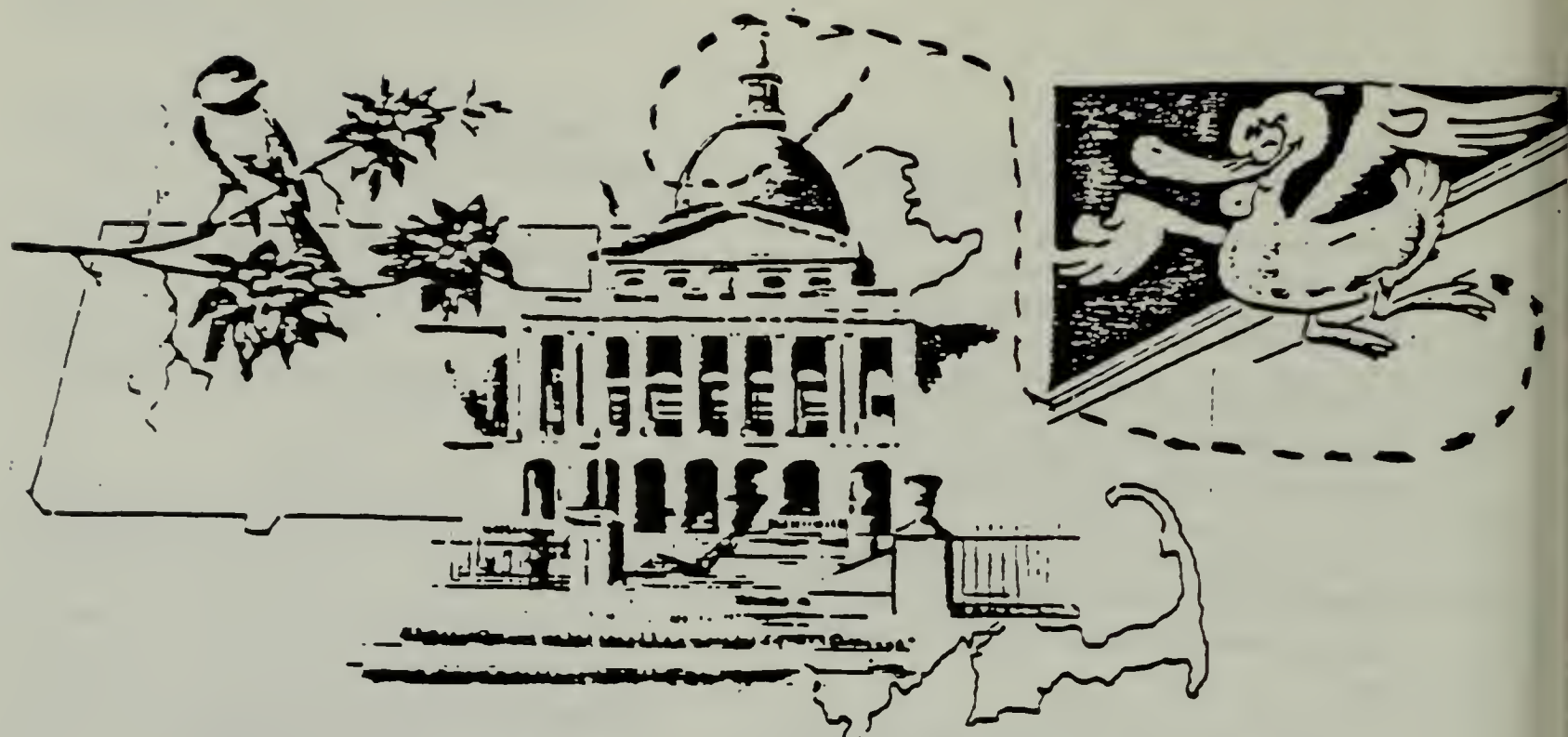
In many respects the Massachusetts General Court has never satisfied the people of the Commonwealth and there is no hope that it ever will, for the General Court IS the people.

No matter what, however, the General Court as it was in Colonial and Revolutionary times is still the peoples voice and their hope. There is nowhere else to turn for needs and aspirations. It is designed to be slow and inefficient because it represents the total diversity of the Commonwealth.

Its membership is made up of every imaginable trade, profession, ethnic background, religious persuasion, educational pursuit, etc. It is an arena, where contenders compete for the prize. It is a battlefield where victory is sweet and defeat can be terrible.

With so many diversities the General Court must deal with a populace that seeks and is accustomed to instant gratification. When they don't get it they have instant disappointment and instant cynicism.

From its inception more than 350 years ago the General Court has never been able to measure up to public expectations and it is doubtful if it ever will.



A NEW STATE BIRD---THE DUCK?

In addition to involving itself in heavy legislation on education, social programs, highways, taxes and the like, the General Court has been busy over the years honoring dogs, horses, marine mammals, insects, fruit, flowers, trees, minerals, fish and even a state song, a state folk song and a state poem, and of course a State bird.

The laws reveal that the Boston Terrier is the State Dog, the Morgan Horse the State Horse, the Ladybug the State Insect, the Cod the State Fish, Dinosaur Tracks the Fossil Emblem, Cranberry Juice the State Drink, the Elm the State Tree, the Mayflower the State Flower and on it goes into "All Hail Massachusetts" as the State Song, and Arlo Guthrie's folk song "Massachusetts" as the State Folk Song. Then there is the State Poem, "Blue Hills of Massachusetts," the Whale is the Marine Mammal Emblem, and off into Rhodonite and Babingtonite as the Gem and Mineral emblems of the State. Lastly, there is the Chickadee as the State Bird.

One State House reporter observed several years ago that he had been a member of the Press Corps a long time and had never seen a Chickadee anywhere near the State House. He contended there were only three birds at the State House, turkeys, ducks and pigeons with not a Chickadee in sight.

The reporter (with tongue in cheek of course) contended that any of these birds would fit the role of State Bird better than the Chickadee for they were symbols of what really goes on under the Golden Dome. "How many times," said the reporter, "has a legislator been referred to by a colleague as a Turkey, or a bill been called a Turkey?" How many times has a legislator, who is easy prey for smart colleagues and lobbyists and the Governor's office been called a pigeon? It is common talk. Nobody ever calls anyone a Chickadee."

The reporter went on to state the Turkey and Pigeon would be ideal State birds but he thought the Duck was the better of the three and more appropriate, because it applied to more legislators.

He explained that in the State House one finds every variety of duck imaginable, so why not the Duck for the State Bird. He bolstered his argument by listing the various ducks and their application to the legislative process.

First, there are the Reactionary Ducks. They fly backwards.

Then there is the Canvasback Duck. They take an easy 10 count.

There is the Ruddy Duck. Too much time at the Golden Dome Pub.

The Donald Ducks, who know everything and quack, quack all day long at the microphones or on the floor.

There are Sitting Ducks all over the place, waiting for the Speaker or some crafty lobbyist to line them up.

The Migratory Duck, He's off on junkets, flying in once and a while for roll calls. He usually gets shot down at election time.

There are Roast Ducks, burned by the fires of indiscretion and corruption.

The Independent Duck. He waddles from side to side and often has his head underwater when a tough vote comes up.

The Ugly Ducklings. So viewed by the Speaker when they refuse to do his bidding.

Then there are the Wild Ducks. No one knows which way they are flying or where they will land.

The Decoy Duck. He works for the leadership and sucks in the live ducks on tough issues. A good decoy duck can do a great deal of fine work for the Speaker or President.

The Dead Duck. One who is de-feathered at the primaries or at the election.

The Lame Duck. He is running out the string, finally voting his conscience. Lame Ducks always have the most courage after their goose is cooked.

The Flying Duck. Driven out of office he is looking for a nest, maybe a nice tuck-away in a moribund commission.

So, why not the Duck, instead of the Chickadee as the State Bird?

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1853

By

A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF THAT YEAR

JANUARY 14, 1888

A Notable Session

There have been few sessions of the Massachusetts Legislature more notable than that of 1853, the last year but one of the Whig ascendancy in the State. For two years preceding a coalition of Freesoilers and Democrats, formed for the purpose of defeating the Whigs and dividing the offices, had controlled the Legislature and elected the Governor, the Freesoilers securing the greatest prize by the election of Charles Sumner United States Senator. The parties to this coalition were really in accord upon no principle and for little else than to secure the public offices, though they united upon some general measures, especially such as the majority of the Whigs opposed. The Freesoilers were the conscience party, who acted from conviction upon the great public question of stopping the encroachments of slavery. The Democrats of Massachusetts were part and parcel of the National Democratic Party, which was the champion and defender of the slave power, and though some of them had begun to be restive under the whip and spurs of the South, it was not till some years later, after Know-Nothingism had loosened party bonds, that the party was divided on the question which came to overshadow all others.

The Whigs Triumph

By a great effort, aided in some portions of the state by opposition to the prohibitory law that had been passed by the coalition Legislature, the Whigs succeeded, at the election of 1852, in regaining the State.

The Majority Rule

It may be well to remind the present generation that in 1852 the majority rule in all elections was in force. If no candidate for Governor received a majority of all the votes cast for that office there was no choice, and the Governor was elected by the Legislature: the House of Representatives electing two out of the four candidates having the highest number of votes, and sending their names to the Senate, which elected one of the two Governor. In the case of Senators, when there was no choice of the people, the vacancies were filled by the two Houses in joint convention from the two candidates for each vacancy who received the highest number of votes. In the case of Representatives, if there was no choice on the day of the annual election, there could be another trial later in the month and if there was still no choice there could be a vacancy during the term of that Legislature.

Frequent Vacancies

Under this system, there was frequently quite a number of vacancies in the House of Representatives. That was the case in 1853, but of the members elected the Whigs had a small majority. They also had a majority of the Senators elected, and the vacancies were all filled in joint convention, by the election of the

candidates of their party, which thus secured a strong majority in the Senate, and on the joint ballot.....

Attendance Closely Monitored

The Whig majority in the House was only eight or nine at best, and on some questions it was less. In order to maintain its control of legislation it was important that the members of the party should be in constant attendance at the sessions of the House, or duly paired with the members of the opposition. On the other hand the opposition, ever watchful for the opportunity to defeat measures obnoxious to them, or to annoy the Whigs, found it advisable to keep their members in attendance, with a chance of sometimes overcoming that slender majority.

The monitors of the several divisions of the House were appointed one from each party, and by arrangement in the party caucuses it was made the duty of a monitor to keep watch of the attendance of the members of his party having seats in his division. When any contested question was likely to arise any member of the House was expected to inform the monitor of his division representing his party where he could be found in case his vote was wanted. The necessity for such organization and party discipline was apparent at the beginning of the session, and was soon recognized as an obligation due from the member to his constituents.....

Late Sessions Required

Having established their control of the State Government the Whigs held frequent caucuses to determine the general policy of the party and their action on particular questions raised by their own action or precipitated upon the House by propositions proposed by the minority, whose actions were also frequently determined in caucus. This kept the parties compact and the attendance of their members quite constant during the daily sessions, which were then held in the morning. The committees met in the afternoon or evening, and as a much smaller proportion of the members went home daily as is now the custom, there was little difficulty in having a quorum. Indeed such members were ready to remain in the city over night if the occasion required, and the late sessions of the House on several occasions continuing through the night did require it.

Banking Bill Proves Controversial

One of the questions on which a long and bitter contest arose was the policy to be adopted in relation to banks. In 1851 a general banking law had been passed, but capitalists were very unwilling to invest in organizations under that law, and when the Whigs came into power again there was a great demand for an increase in banking facilities under the long established system of special charters. A large number of the existing banks petitioned for an increase of capital, and there were also many applications for the incorporation of new banks. Bills were reported on nearly all three petitions, and were opposed collectively

and singly by the coalition party, by which the general law had been passed. Bitter opposition to the corporations in general, and to banks in particular, was manifested by Mr. Butler (not then Gen. Butler) and his associates, and in the debates there was more waste of demagogical ammunition than presentation of sound arguments which might have been made in favor of the general law. In this context Mr. Hooper took an independent position in favor of the general law, with its restrictions, and there were sharp and occasionally acrimonious debates between him and Mr. Stevenson, in which the latter, as the more practical speaker, usually had the advantage.

Parliamentary Maneuvering

The usual parliamentary tactics were resorted to at all stages of these bills to defeat or delay them, and there was a determination on the part of both parties to show their entire strength in votes where there was so narrow a margin. This of course required watchfulness on the part of the monitors, and often not a little sacrifice on the part of members. Though some of the bills met with a temporary check, nearly or quite all were finally passed, by reason of the faithful attendance of their friends.

Debates: Long & Bitter

Where parties were so nearly equal in strength it was natural that debates on questions of public policy, on which they were divided, should frequently drift into recriminations; into strong partisan speeches which aroused and kept in array the members of the respective parties. Butler, as the leader of the opposition, was ever ready to enter into a conflict, and sometimes without being quite sure of the ground on which he stood; but he met with more than his match in Otis P. Lord, who in mastery of languages, in knowledge of law, in logic and in eloquence was superior. Often these conflicts of words arose on subsidiary motions or irrelevant amendments, offered by the opposition for the purpose of obstruction or of making party capital, and abounded in sharp thrusts and keen retorts, which were to keep the seats of members and the galleries full.

Other major Issues

Other measures which gave rise to long and often acrimonious debate were propositions to amend and strengthen the prohibitory law, on the one hand, and to repeal and weaken it on the other. On these questions the division was not on party lines. Though a majority of the Whigs were opposed to the prohibitory law, there were many who favored it, and there was a very decided prohibition majority in the House. But the leaders of the two political parties were pitted against each other in these debates, as well as on the questions where their respective parties were united.

The Conduct of Business

There were then no repeated postponements of important bills, no multiplicity of special assignments, no passing over of matters in the calendar because some member interested was absent, and there was no standing rule of the House requiring an adjournment at a certain hour to allow to allow members to take outward trains from Boston to their homes forty miles or more away. An adjournment for want of a quorum was an extraordinary occurrence. The orders of the day when taken up were proceeded with through the forenoon and afternoon

and into the evening if necessary. On two or three occasions when there was a fierce and persistent pause, the session was continued till the small hours in the morning.

"Offensive Words"

At one of these late sessions Gen. Butler caused a sensation such as he has since then frequently occasioned. A bill was before the House which elicited a sharp debate and was opposed by various and obstructive and dilatory motions, as well as by long speeches. In the heat of this contest a motion made by Butler was ruled out of order by the Speaker, who gave his reasons for so ruling. When he had finished Butler had stalked down the aisle to the area in front of the Speaker's desk in a state of excitement and said to some of his friends, but audibly to others, what was understood to be "I should like to knife t e old cuss!" The report of these words created a countersensation among the Whigs, some of whom were in favor of prompt expulsion of the offender. When charged with uttering the offensive words, Mr. Butler declared that what he had said was that he "would like to put a knife into the ruling of the Speaker," and as the words, even if correctly reported, were not uttered publicly, it was deemed inexpedient to take any formal action.

Liquid Refreshment Investigated

At another late session one Saturday night (think of that ye more recent legislators!) some of the Boston members had refreshments in one of the committee rooms, of which the Whig members and some of the opposition were invited to partake. A single bottle of brandy had been brought from the residence of a prominent Boston member, and the presence of that bottle was the cause of a motion on the following Monday for a committee to inquire who introduced liquor into the State House, and on that motion there was an intemperate debate, in which some members indulged in personalities. One such allusion to Mr. Lord, by a member whose only apparent interest in legislation was to support the prohibitory law, called forth from the leader of the House a reply no less personal and a good deal more forcible. There was a large majority of Prohibitionists in the House, and the committee was appointed, but it was so made up that it did not pursue the inquiry with much haste or vigor, and after having the time for a report extended without any result, it was finally discharged.

A Productive Session Nevertheless

Notwithstanding the many long daily sessions the committees attended to their duties, and a good deal of legislation was accomplished, 422 acts and 99 resolves being the result. The session was undoubtedly prolonged many days by the long debates and close contests in the House and it extended to the 25th of May, or 142 days.

Pay Raise Turned Aside

For their faithful attendance and the work they accomplished the members received as compensation two dollars a day. A resolve was passed by the House to make the pay two dollars and a half, but that modest increase did not survive the conservative action of the Senate, and the members who did not deduct for

absence, as was then the rule, received for the session \$284. Recent legislatures have been hardly as modest, or as careful of the Commonwealth's treasury.

Occupational Profile

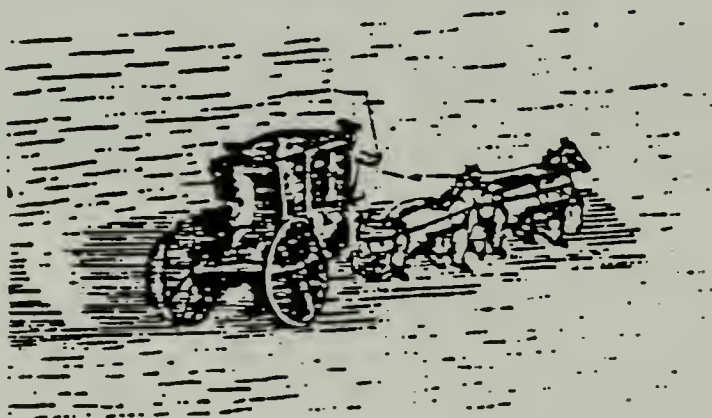
The composition of the Legislature of 1853 shows quite a contrast to those of recent years. In the House, containing 288 members, there were 90 farmers, or more than one third of the whole, 52 merchants, 36 lawyers, 21 manufacturers (probably textile), 13 master mariners, 11 shoe manufacturers, 11 physicians, 9 builders, 6 masons, and the 30 other members were of about a dozen different occupations, numbering one, two, or three each.

The Present Make-Up

In the House of 1888 the number of farmers has dwindled to 16, 35 lawyers make the largest of any one calling; the merchants, including various traders and not excepting liquor dealers, hardly number 40; shoe manufacturers are reduced to 5; there are two or three representatives of each of 24 different occupations, numbering one, two or three each.

Long Sessions Tied to Loss of Farmers

The different composition of the Legislature in these days, the different methods of legislative work, the more comfortable seats, better committee rooms and more attractive surroundings, make legislative duties less of a burden - to many the reverse of a burden - and conduce to long sessions. The 99 farmer members of 1853 did not find the State House, with its meager accommodations, so attractive that they did not care to get home at seed time, and they were sufficient in numbers to have an influence in hastening the work. The 15 farmers of the present House have a poor show for inducing their fellow laborers, to whom all sessions are alike, to adjourn by planting time.



A CONTEMPLATIVE APPROACH TO POLITICS

By

SENATOR JOHN E. POWERS

PRESIDENT
MASSACHUSETTS SENATE
(1959-1964)



JOHN E. POWERS

Many of the problems of our forefathers have long since vanished into obscurity. Some of them still haunt us. One of those problems is the ill repute in which the politician, the legislator even the statesman is held. Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, Disraeli - were not immune from ridicule, contempt, and hate.

Although Massachusetts legislators have always been the target of disparagement and innuendo, the torrent of invective and abuse poured upon us in recent months and years has reached such proportions as to constitute a serious obstacle to the continuance of good government in this state.

You who have attended the sessions of this assembly, have heard various forms of the harsh criticism to which I refer. During the past few months, I have tried time and again to answer these attacks on legislative integrity.

I have pointed out that neither party has a monopoly on either virtue or corruption; that both Republican and Democratic rascals have been involved; that it is my party, both nationally and in this state, which has uncovered the evildoers; and finally, that of 280 state legislators, only one has been connected either directly or indirectly with any chicanery, and that through my own initial investigation of the M.D.C.

This evening, however, I intend to approach the defense of politicians and legislators in a somewhat different vein. Frankly, I'm a bit weary of the violent and unsupported charges continually being made.

Tonight, I do not intend to answer those charges. Instead, I will allow others to speak for your General Court.

"Criticism of lawmakers and of laws is, always has been, and doubtless always will be a favorite occupation of mankind. It is in the matter of government that men most often voice their discontent. Instinctively they recognize that government is, next to religion, their gravest concern. What of all earthly pursuits is the most important? 'Legislation' was the answer Helvetius gave.

"It is particularly unfortunate that so often the men who criticize law-making bodies have had no personal experience therein. Also, there is ground for regret that critics of our institutions of government so often approach them from the wrong side. All institutions, whatever they may be, should be approached with the presumption that there is, or at any rate once was, a reason for them, appealing at the time of their adoption to the common sense of the community. Therefore, the presumption should be in their favor. An institution, like a man, is to be deemed innocent until proven guilty. Yet, a large number of writers approach every institution of government as if it were necessarily bad, and always assume that something better should be substituted.

"Such men have a great advantage in that he who blames finds ready listeners; he who praises speaks to deaf ears. Yet, contrary to the need, it is the critic who makes the most noise.

"If the same tests were applied to the workings of government that are applied to all other affairs, if the same justice, the same sympathy were given, there would be less cause for resentment, but such is not the case. Men who share in making and administering the law are judged by different standards from those used for others. 'As to the mistakes and failures of government' well asked Lord Pembroke, 'What would private enterprise look like if its mistakes and failures were collected and pilloried in the same manner?'

"One palpable thing is that if legislative iniquities were as general as the critics think, life would be intolerable. Fortunately for our happiness, not to speak of our safety, those iniquities are the exception, not the rule.

"The conclusion of anybody willing to study the matter conscientiously must agree with that of Woodrow Wilson, who.... frankly admitted it 'to be simply amazing to find how few outrageously and fatally foolish, how few of bad or disastrous things have been done by means of what he called our disintegrate methods of legislation'".

As you already probably surmised, the foregoing are excerpts from a volume whose author will be divulged later. The same author gives many examples of the ill repute in which legislatures have been held since time immemorial. Let us continue.

"We are told that long sessions and frequent meetings (of the Virginia Assembly) increased the expense of the counties for the salaries of the burgesses, some of whom drew their stipend without attending, and charged up against their constituents the cost of the liquors they drank. One of their critics wrote

'little wonder that the people became rebellious; government was in the hands of a ring; the Assembly was elected by the wealthier classes; salaries were excessive, sessions long, meetings frequent, and the abuse of office a daily practice.'

"The mother of parliaments, that which sat at Westminster, was no more virtuous than her children. Samuel Pepys told his 'cozen', according to the entry of May 27, 1663, in the famous diary, that it was 'a matter of the greatest grief to him in the world, that he should be put upon this trust of being a parliament man, because he says nothing is done, that he can see, out of any truth and sincerity, but mere envy and design.'

"Turning our backs on history really ancient, let us see if we can find in some American state legislature the pinnacle of excellence from which we have fallen. For example, Illinois Governor Thomas Ford ought to be a good authority for that. He attended the first state legislature in 1818-19, and was present at every session from 1825 to 1849. Here is what he saw, 'the frequent legislative elections; the running to and from of the various cliques and factions, before each election; the anxiety of members for popularity at home; the settlement of plans to control future elections, to sustain the party in power, on the one side, and to overthrow it, on the part of the minority, absorb nearly the whole attention of the legislature, and leave but little disposition or time to be devoted to legitimate legislation.

"This was criticism so mild and gentle compared with what we now enjoy, as to warrant the presumption that either our grandfathers had not learned how to abuse, or else that there was really small basis for slander in the first half of the nineteenth century. Frank B. Sanborn recalled that Henry Thoreau lived in Concord near the railroad station where Governor Banks and his friend might alight, coming to the great muster. As the philosopher was going down to the post office, he met a neighbor who asked, 'Harry, where are you going?' 'I heard that the Governor of Massachusetts is coming to Concord today, and I am after a lock to put on the front door.' 'Yes, but the General Court is coming too.' 'Oh, then I must put a lock on our back door.'"

On May 20, 1875, the magazine The Nation wrote: "It must certainly be admitted that the public odium into which the legislature has year by year brought itself has become so great, that if the power of dissolving a legislative assembly had been retained by our system in the hands of the executive, there can be little doubt that it would have been exercised several times within the last few years."

"Yet we had by no means reached the bottom of the gulf. Professor John W. Burgess in the Political Science Quarterly of March, 1886, stated: 'It cannot be doubted that we have in all this a great decline in the dignity, influence and power of

the Commonwealth Legislatures, and, therefore, of the Commonwealths themselves. It is unmistakable that a stronger consciousness of nationality, a larger confidence in the national government, and a pronounced distrust of the Commonwealth Governments have taken possession of the whole people, and are now realizing themselves in the constitutional and legal transformation of our entire political system.'

"In 1894, Moorfield Storey, delivering his presidential address to the American Bar Association declared, 'in Massachusetts during each successive session for years, I have heard on every hand, 'this is the worst legislature we have ever had.' The author continues, 'they still say that in Massachusetts.'

"Against the widespread belief that there has been deterioration in the law-making bodies of English speaking peoples, it is doubtless impossible to make headway, however strong the conviction that the belief is in large part unwarranted. The most that can be hoped for is to temper hostility somewhat by a better understanding of the facts.

"The defects of our legislatures are mechanical, not temperamental. Most of the members, most of the leaders, are above the level of their constituencies in zeal and industry, honor and integrity, altruism and patriotism. Because hampered by outgrown processes, they waste strength and time. They could and would do better work if precedent, custom, and people permitted. Their fault is that they do not revolt, use what power is in their hands, and by reshaping their methods as much as they can, meet in larger degree the needs of today.

"Men who persist in wasteful ways are thereby stopped from resenting criticism, for the blame that is just protects the blame that is unjust. Yet so much is unjust that the lawmakers of the land may well wonder sometimes whether the habit of slander ought not somehow to be checked. They may be forgiven for wishing they could go back to the good old days when in the first year of the colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, Thomas Foze, a servant, was ordered to be whipped for uttering malicious and scandalous speeches, whereby he sought to traduce the General Court, as if it had taken some bribe in a certain instance.

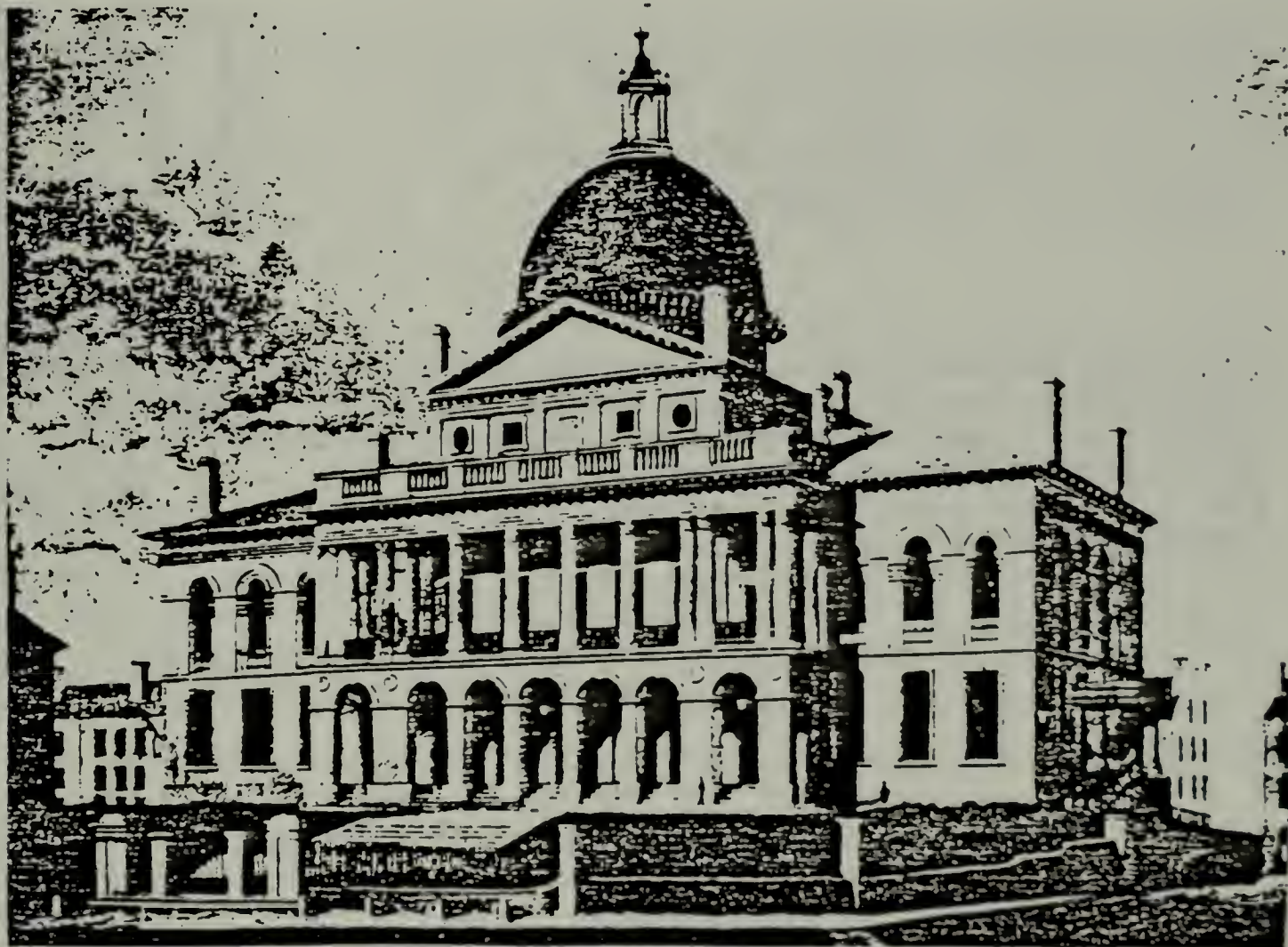
"Nowadays, of course, however deep freedom of speech may sink in the slough of license, we can give no serious thought to whipping or other criminal penalty if our institutions or our public servants are maligned, but wholly vain may not be an appeal to thoughtful men, loving their country, to be cautious and accurate when they censure the men and the methods relied upon for translating the will of the people into law."

As you have already gathered, the foregoing dissertation

upon legislatures in general, and the Massachusetts Legislature in particular, was not the product of my brain or imagination. With the exception of a very few personal interpolations, it is taken from the fourth volume of a series on state legislatures, written by Henry Luce, a distinguished Republican politician. Mr. Luce served 9 years in our General Court, was Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, and a respected member of Congress for 16 years.

Just because the volume was published 27 years ago in 1935, does not diminish the importance of what it says. I take scant comfort in its reference to criticisms of previous legislatures. It may be true that misery loves company, but I must be the exception to the rule. In any case, I am at least heartened by Mr. Luce's obvious understanding of the Legislature's function, and his earnest pleas for similar public understanding.

His observations, made more than a quarter century ago, still ring true today.



STATE HOUSE, 1826

With the exception of the fence and the steps, the same as in 1798

EDWARD G. WALKER - CHARLES L. MITCHELL

FIRST BLACK LEGISLATORS

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT

(117 YEARS AGO - 1867)

Edwin Garrison Walker of Charlestown and Charles Lewis Mitchell of Boston were the first Black persons elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

The year was 1867. Walker, whose mother was a fugitive slave, was described as "a tall man of imposing figure with fine oratorical skills." As a legislator, he promoted the rights of all the downtrodden. He was the third Black admitted to the Suffolk Bar. He was elected as a Republican.

Rep. Mitchell, also elected in 1867, was a combat veteran of the Civil War and was a printer by trade. He too was a Republican.

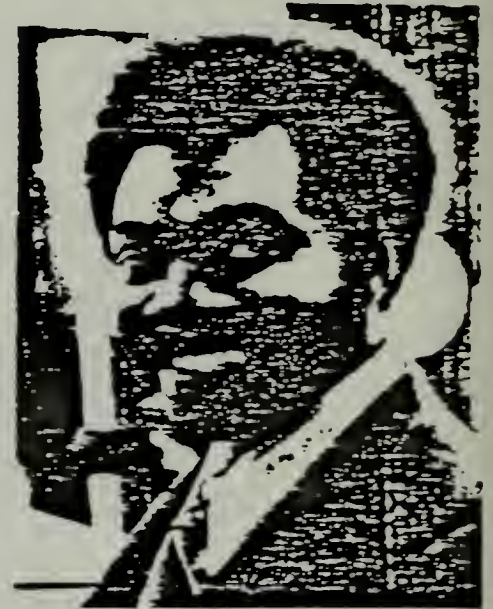
The first fifteen Black House members elected from 1867 to 1954 were members of the Republican Party. Of the seventeen House members elected since 1954, a total of fifteen have been Democrats and two Republicans.

(no photos available)

HON. BILL OWENS

FIRST BLACK STATE SENATOR
(1974)

Bill Owens of Mattapan became the first Black State Senator. He was elected in 1974 serving as a Democrat and then a Republican until losing the election to the second Black Senator Royal. L. Bolling, Sr., a Democrat from Roxbury.



BILL OWENS

115 Hazelton St., Boston (Mattapan).
Second Suffolk District, Democrat.

Born: Demopolis, Ala., July 6, 1937

The General Court too often is regarded as a place where strife and intrigue join hands to baffle Right and Justice. Instead it is an institution where Progress is fostered and where legislative acts are being passed and revised to assure the comfort and safety of the People of the Commonwealth.

----- Frank E. Bridgman
House Clerk, 1928-1939

"The most important fact about what politicians do is that they do not know what they are doing."

Those are the words of Henry Fairlie a distinguished British journalist who goes on to state:

"The task of a politician is not to make a profit, like a businessman; to fight a battle, like a general; to win a case like a lawyer; to ready us for salvation, like a priest; to write a book like an author; to make a boot like a shoemaker. There is no real test or measure of what a politician does.

"A politician must deal from day to day with what Bismarck called imponderabilia. He cannot even choose his own materials---it is one of the faults of the non-polibician to believe that he may---for these are in the end only two---people and events---and for the most part they are givens in any situation.

"Human nature in the raw, and great events in the making: willy-nilly, these force themselves on his attention and he must respond to them in the arena he has chosen, where the spotlight of publicity shines on everything he does.

"The support that a politician needs is always shifting, never reliable, will change under his feet from day to day, even hour to hour. The politician who says that in taking a stand on some issue will, if he is wise, cross his fingers, and mutter under his breath that it is only shifting sand on which he has a footing.

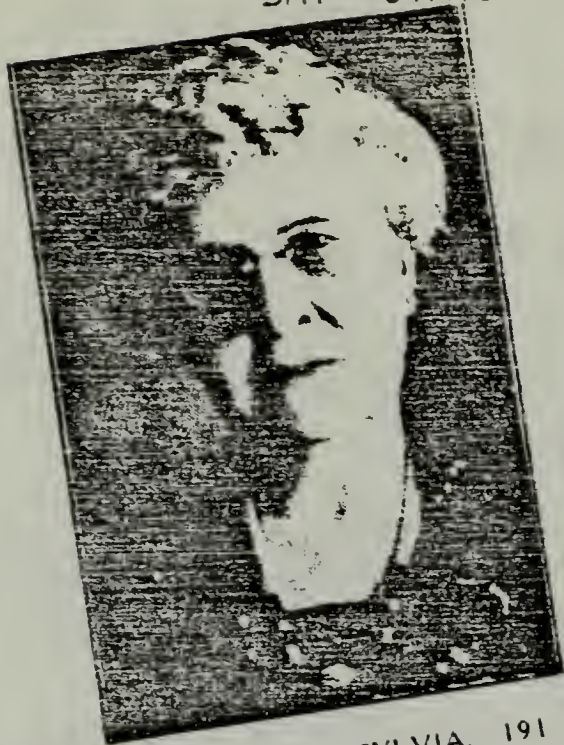
"It is true that politicians must try to exercise power in conditions in which there is no ready-made power to exercise. Hugh Gaitskell once said 'you should write a book about power because when one gets to the top one finds there is no such thing! There is no greater misconception in politics than that there are levers of power, which have only to be seized in order to do what one wishes; and the phrase 'levers of power' should be banished from political commentary and from political science.

"To have climbed to the top but then find that they are standing on shifting ground, always to depend on support that is never reliable, always to be at the mercy of events that they are unable to control and people they cannot command, and always in the end to accomplish so little of what they set out to do.

"In the circumstances in which he must act, the politician's most important art is that of retaining his flexibility and his capacity for maneuver, and exploiting them to the full. It is inflexible men who lead their countries to failure and calamity. Without flexibility a politician is useless.

"What we must require of any politician, 'liberal' or 'conservative' 'left wing' or 'right wing' is that he understands that he represents a realm which is, so to speak, our last court of appeal against the other realms in our society that threaten to subject us."

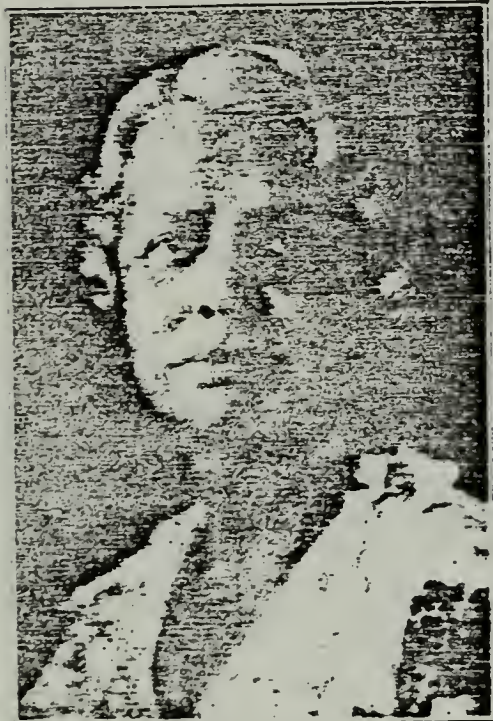
BAY STATE'S FIRST WOMEN LEGISLATORS



DONALDSON, M. SYLVIA. 191 Newbury St., Brockton. 10th Plymouth House District, Republican.
Born: Falmouth, July 12, 1849.
Educated: Boston Univ. Normal Art.
Profession: Dist. school principal, Brockton, until 1919.
Organizations: Audubon Soc., Daughters of Revolution, Nat'l Education Ass'n, League of Women Voters, Women's Civic Federation.
Public office: School Board, Mass. House 1923-'24.



FITZGERALD, SUSAN W., 7 Greenough Ave., Boston, (30). 22nd Suffolk House District, Democrat.
Born: Cambridge, May 9, 1871.
Educated: Schools of Salem, Boston, Washington, D. C., Bryn Mawr College A. B.
Occupation: At home.
Organizations: Bryn Mawr Club, Democratic State Committee.
Public office: Mass. House 1923-'24.



HOLMES, SYBIL H., 68 Taylor Crossway, Brookline, Norfolk and Suffolk Senatorial District, Republican.

Born: West Bridgewater, June 20, 1889.
Educated: Private Law Course, Special Courses, Columbia and Harvard Universities.
Profession: Lawyer.
Organizations: Am. Mass., Boston and Norfolk Bar Ass'ns., Women's City Club of Boston, Women's Republican Club of Mass.
Public Office: Ass't. Atty. General 4 yrs., Mass. Unemployment and Minimum Wage Comm., Mass. Bay Colony Tercentenary Comm., Mass. Senate 1937-'38.

For decades, Massachusetts women joined others from across the nation in fighting for women's suffrage. In 1879, women were given the right to vote for and be candidates for school committees in Massachusetts. However, the battle continued for a constitutional amendment for total women's suffrage.

In 1920, the issue had been resolved and women could run for all public offices, including U.S. Senator, Governor, and the whole range of elective office down to local government.

In 1922, the Massachusetts General Court was forever changed when Sylvia M. Donaldson of Brockton and Susan W. Fitzgerald of Boston were elected to the House of Representatives, breaking the 300-year-old "men only" tradition.

Miss Donaldson (age 74) and Miss Fitzgerald (age 51), long-time suffrage activists, made history on Jan. 3, 1923 when they were sworn into office as the first women legislators in the House.

Nearly 15 years later in 1937, Attorney Sybil Holmes was the first woman to serve in the Massachusetts Senate.

WOMEN LEGISLATORS GIVEN WARM WELCOME

THE BOSTON GLOBE—THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1923

Miss FitzGerald and Miss Donaldson Central Figures as
General Court Convenes For 1923—Placed
On Important Committees



WOMEN LEGISLATORS (STATE SENATORS) AT STATE CAPITOL

THE GENERAL COURT: A LAYMAN'S DESCRIPTION

The General Court of Massachusetts is a legislative organization wherein one may find the most fervent pragmatist and the noblest idealist sitting side by side---oftentimes voting alike on an issue, albeit for different reasons. This bicameral legislature has been described as a family of sorts---a family which watches out for its members, whoever they may be: representatives, senators, secretaries, staffers and clerks.

The General Court is really many things. It is the fountain-head of our all-important tax legislation. It is the historical birthplace of landmark legislation in such topics as the merit systems, civil service reform, etc., etc., etc.,

On the other side of the coin, the General Court, like all other state legislatures, is also a service resource whereby constituents exert daily pressure on their representatives and senators for favors, errands and assorted services.

Few members of any legislature would discount the importance of responding in some fashion to constituent requests, be they legitimate, reasonable, outrageous or simply incredible. Indeed the legislator's role as ombudsman to his constituents is considered by many to be a paramount activity and one designed to enhance vastly his prospects for re-election.

The Massachusetts General Court is not unlike other legislatures. Its legislative docket on any typical day is jammed with a multitude of bills and proposals on topics certain to dishearten those who behold the state legislature as a body instituted and destined for great and noble things. Yet each piece of legislation holds a vital importance to one person or a few, or a small group and that collectively, such bills comprise the opinion of the state's citizens.

While many will disagree, we believe that the Massachusetts Legislature is in effect a microcosm of the people. Our position to be sure is grounded in a faith in the system of representative government. Yet it is seasoned by a long-term, close observation of the General Court, that representation is now more proportionate, and by the sense that legislative policy output is in large measure more reflective of what the people are thinking, and desire.

The individual legislator tends to be in many ways a likeness of his district. As Henry Ward Beecher told the voters of New York, a century ago, "If you send a rogue to Albany to represent you, then indeed he represents you."

This characterization may be applied to Massachusetts as well as any other state. The voters of each legislative district send their image, good or otherwise to the Senate and House of Representatives.

-----Edwin Anarus Gere
Peter Chisolm
(1972)



MEN'S
LEGISLATIVE
LONGEVITY
RECORDS



FEENEY, MICHAEL PAUL, 1001 River St., Boston (Hyde Park), 18th Suffolk House District, Democrat.
Born: Hyde Park, March 26, 1907.

HOLMES, NEWLAND H., 83 Webb St., Weymouth, Norfolk and Plymouth Senatorial District, Republican
Born: Brockton, Aug. 30, 1891.

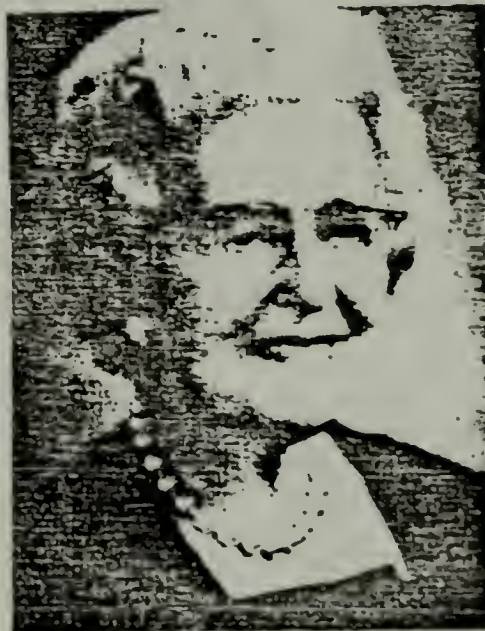
It was the desire of the people in long-ago Massachusetts to keep their elected officials close to the grass roots. Every office from Governor down to the local Mayor was a "one year term". Being compelled to run every year did not give elected officials much chance to build up longevity and many offices, including the Legislature, were revolving doors - one, two, or three terms and out.

This was all changed by a Constitutional amendment in 1918, which permitted two-year terms. Local charters responded in kind.

Elected officials, with breathing spells, lasted a bit longer and into the 20's and beyond, a number of men and women established remarkable longevity records. The longest was Rep. Michael Paul Feeney who served from 1939-1980, a total of 41 years. Newland Holmes served 5 years in the House and 34 in the Senate, a record of Senate service. Senator Mary Fonseca holds the record for Senate service for a woman at 32 years and Mrs. Leslie Cutler had 30 years of House and Senate service.



WOMEN'S
LEGISLATIVE
LONGEVITY
RECORDS



MARY L. FONSECA
400 David St., Fall River; Second Bristol District, Democrat.
Born: Fall River, March 30, 1915

LESLIE BRADLEY CUTLER
1010 South St., Needham, Norfolk and Middlesex District, Republican.
Born: Boston, Mar. 24, 1890

WALTER H. FAUNCE

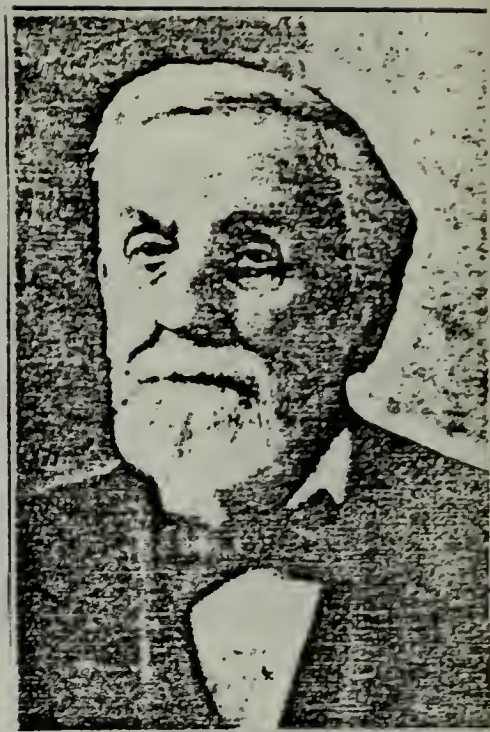
(AGE 92)

OLDEST LEGISLATOR IN HISTORY OF GENERAL COURT

When the Massachusetts General Court convened on January 7, 1925, a distinction was noted among the members. The Voters of Kingston had elected a long-time Selectman and town official, Walter H. Faunce, age 92, to the Legislature.

As the oldest member, Rep. Faunce presided over the House until a Speaker had been elected.

Rep. Faunce had previously served one term in the House in 1880. When he left the General Court at the end of his term, in 1926 at age 94, Faunce became the oldest man ever to have served on Beacon Hill - a record which still stands.



FAUNCE, WALTER H., Kingston,
Plymouth House District, Republican.
Born: Kingston, Nov. 16, 1832.



THOMAS R. LUSSIER

3 Brown St., Pittsfield, 2nd Berkshire
District, Democrat.

Born: Pittsfield, April 5, 1957.

THOMAS LUSSIER

(AGE 19)

YOUNGEST LEGISLATOR IN HISTORY OF GENERAL COURT

For many decades, the voting age in Massachusetts was set at 21 years. In 1972, during the Vietnam War, the voting age was reduced to 18 by vote of the people. This gave Thomas R. Lussier of Pittsfield (age 19) an opportunity to run for the Massachusetts House.

He was elected and served from 1977 - 1980 when he left the Legislature for other government service. He was at age 19 the youngest person to serve as a member of the House of Representatives.

THE AGE FACTOR

In the long-ago legislative days, members of the Senate and House were mostly young men, for life was short and a man needed to make his way. Therefore, many legislators were in their late 20's or early 30's.

As time went on, the age factor crept forward until by 1925, the average age of the House was 47 and the Senate 49. By 1981, the average age of House members was down to 43 and the Senate 46. In 1925, 23% of the House members were under age 35 and 10% of the Senate. In 1981, a total of 29% of the House members were under 35 and 22% of the Senate.

THE HODGE-PODGE OF THE ELECTION PROCESS
THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH
(1893)

Elective offices are so numerous that ordinary citizens cannot watch them, and cease to care who gets them. Conventions come so often that busy men and women cannot serve in them and they are taken over by special interest advocates. The minor offices are so unattractive that able persons will not stand for them. Even the State constitutional offices have on occasion gone unopposed and House and Senate seats continue to have a high level of unopposed candidates.

It is difficult to draw people together in party conferences. They refuse to serve as ward and precinct committee members. The grass-roots party organizations no longer really exist. The mass of the voters have little knowledge of anyone who is running for office except highly visible governors and the President of the United States. They know nothing of the personal merits of the candidates and they follow only the fact that a person is a Republican or Democrat.

No matter how the voters may grumble they are swayed by the inveterate habit of party loyalty and prefer a bad candidate of their own party to a (probably better candidate) of the opposite party.

It is less trouble to put up with poor officials, costly city government, an ineffective state legislature and an inferior congressman than to sacrifice time, effort and money to set things right.

Thus politics grinds on, providing patronage, power and opportunities to those who are willing to manage it.

-----James Bryce.
(re-written)

HOUSE SPEAKER---SENATE PRESIDENT

It's a good trick if one can do it, but no legislator in 180 years has served as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and then advanced to become President of the State Senate.

Only two legislators in the 200-plus year history of the Commonwealth have accomplished this feat. The first was David Cobb (aide to General Washington during the Revolution.) Cobb served as Speaker of the House, 1789-93. He then moved to the State Senate where he became President of that body, 1789-93.

Harrison Gray Otis was Speaker of the House 1803-05. He too moved to the Senate and was President on two separate occasions: 1805-06 and again in 1808-11.



CANDIDATES AND THEIR CAMPAIGN PROMISES

A number of years ago a Massachusetts citizen named Joe Casper came up with what he thought was a brilliant political idea. He organized a group of taxpayers who stated they were sick and tired of candidates running for office on promises they had no intention of keeping. They were just fobbing the people and using campaign platforms to get in on and not really stand on.

Casper's group, named "PEOPLE FIRST" felt it was a fair enough request to ask all candidates for the House and Senate to do what to them might be a very traumatic thing: sign affidavits swearing they would, if elected, keep their campaign promises---or resign from office.

Others in Casper's group indicated that candidates come on strong with such words as "integrity," "full-time service," "Taxpayer concern," "budget-cutting," "avoid the special interests," "stay away from lobbyists," "no patronage," "independent and not beholden to the Speaker or President," etc., etc.

"In fact," said a member of "PEOPLE FIRST," "to hear some of these candidates for the House and Senate talk, you would think they are candidates for sainthood. They get elected and then welch on their whole program."

In any event "PEOPLE FIRST" sent over 400 letters to legislative candidates in both parties asking them to sign the enclosed affidavit stating they would resign if they did not keep their political promises, if they were elected.

"PEOPLE FIRST" received 80 responses with the affidavits duly signed by 67 candidates. 13 candidates responded, some rather indignantly, they had no intention of signing such a statement.

"What bothered us," said the "PEOPLE FIRST" spokesman, "is that 320 candidates did not reply at all. They just ignored the letter."

When the figures were published the group spokesman was asked: "How many of the 67 who signed the affidavit do you think will resign when they can't fulfill their promises after January 1st?"

"They won't be able to," was the sad response, "none of them were elected."

SO MUCH FOR A BRILLIANT IDEA.

D I C T I O N A R Y O F
MALADIES, PAINS, PHOBIAS,
AFFLICTIONS, AILMENTS AND DISEASES
PECULIAR TO THE LEGISLATURE

By
SENATOR JOHN F. PARKER
MINORITY LEADER
MASSACHUSETTS STATE SENATE

GAVEL ELBOW: A malady that strikes House Speakers and Senate Presidents and occasionally majority leaders, who love to smash the gavel down on the rostrum to indicate power and authority. Constant gavel pounding sets up tendonitis in the elbow and results in the affliction known as Gavel Elbow.

Remedy: *Substitutue a rubber gavel.*

LEGISLATOR'S FIST: This affliction strikes over-zealous legislators whose constant pounding on their desks or at the podium in the well of the House creates stress fracture, possible bone chips and calcium deposits.

Remedy: *Shut up and sit down.*

CHAIRPERSON'S WRIST: A malady something like Gavel Elbow, but milder. New Committee chairman puffed up with authority and veteran chairman (who think they are judges) overgavel their meetings and wind up with strain on their wrist tendons, calling for at least an ace bandage.

Remedy: *Let the citizens speak without interruption. They don't care what you know. They want you to know what they know.*

DIGITITIS: (Sore fingers): A malady which comes from constant snapping of fingers beckoning pages and court officers to run errands, obtain copies of bills, notary public blanks, etc. Can be painful and arthritic if overdone. This affliction runs at a high level in both branches.

Remedy: *Don't be so bossy.*

NECK AND BACK SYNDROME: This is a common State House malady and attacks all those with higher political ambitions. It requires constant protection of the shoulder blades against knife wounds from jealous political colleagues. The neck affliction can be brought on by repeated twisting to look behind and guard against potential back-stabbers. This is the deadliest disease on Beacon Hill.

Remedy: A knife-proof vest.

LEGISLATOR'S GROIN: A very painful affliction which comes from constant fence straddling.

Remedy: Get on one side of the issue and stay there.

FOOT-IN-MOUTH DISEASE: This disease is common among first-termers who come to the State House gung-ho and loaded for bear and want to talk on every subject on the calendar. Sooner or later their tongues get out ahead of their brains and they come down with Foot-in-mouth disease.

Remedy: It can be cured if contained early enough. Otherwise it can be fatal.

CRANIAL ATROPHY: This is a very serious malady brought on by indifference to committee assignments, floor action, bill reading, etc. This disease affects mostly those who could care less about what is going on and have found a home in the Legislature. They run a few errands, scratch a few patronage jobs and run out the string as long as they can. They become non-controversial, non-effective, non-influential and non-attendant. The longer they are in office the more atrophy sets in and after a few terms they don't even know where their seats are.

Remedy: A good dose of voter resentment.

HOUSE EAR: This disease affects House members more than Senate members. The constant din in the House reaches extremely high levels which can bruise delicate ear membranes. Demagogues, particularly, are spreaders of this disease and in a single afternoon can infect half the House.

Remedy: Take a walk when the demagogues take the floor.

GALLOPING TONGUE: This disease is not generally contagious. Most people with galloping tongue are born with it. Its symptoms are constant mouthing at the microphone, overpowering indignation, self-righteousness. This disease can clear the chamber in five minutes.

Remedy: Try to fall asleep, or escape back to your office.

XEROX EYESTRAIN: Afflicts members of both branches foolish enough to try and read every one of the 9,000 bills and the tons of press releases and puff pieces that pile up mountain-high on every legislator's desk. Overindulgence can result in thicker glasses and less appreciation for the right of free petition and anger at the snow jobs generated by the blizzard of press releases.

Remedy: Don't bother to read 95% of the bills and order your secretary to throw away the press releases. Who needs to read how important every other legislator thinks he is.

DEMAGOGIA: An exotic disease, peculiar only to politicians. Easily recognized for its symptoms are constant carping, negatizing, complaining, criticizing the institution and offering unworkable solutions, panaceas and nut-cake amendments. In full effect Demagogia can be dangerous for its victims play to the haters, the press and whatever. Its side effects are that the victim of this disease often thinks he is right.

Remedy: Batten down the hatches and let them talk themselves out.

LEGISLATIVE ITCH: An ailment that is very infectious. There are occasions when both branches are awash with Legislative Itch. It is a disease more prevalent among Democrats than Republicans, for Demos all have the itch to knock each other out of whatever office the other holds. At times it is epidemic. It's symptoms are easily recognized: Enlarged ego, swelling of the head, jealousy, etc.

Remedy: There is no known cure.

ROLLCALLITIS: This affliction affects the sweat glands, blood pressure, skin colorations and nervous system of members. It attacks mostly members given to worry and concern over "Yes" and "No" votes---and can have serious health effects, such as loss of sleep, spasms of doubt, palsy and fear of retaliation.

Remedy: Vote boldly and dam the torpedoes.

LIBERALYSIS: A once wide-spread epidemic disease affecting all Legislative bodies and which resulted in killing the goose that laid the Golden Egg. This disease has been slowed down by an old Yankee serum called Proposition 2 1/2. There is no permanent cure and it is feared that Liberalysis (in one form or another) will break out again.

Remedy: Stop printing money.

CONSERVATITIS: A rather new disease for Massachusetts with Legislators not knowing how to cope with it. Once an affliction of the Republicans it has now spread to Democrats as well, who are now claiming it as their own and keeping a wet finger to the wind.

Remedy: It has to run its course

EXECUFEVER: A common malady on Beacon Hill, Its symptoms are first noticed following a favorable (or unfavorable) editorial in the Globe or the Herald, which can have swelling effects. Well-meaning friends (usually short of cash) can force the malady on a person. Once bitten by Execufever the member's mind thinks of nothing but the Governor's office and when the full effects of the malady are felt, the member will promise anything to anybody at anytime and anywhere. The brass ring is what counts and Execufever can change a man's whole personality. It is a deadly disease.

Remedy: A shortage of campaign funds will cure Execufever quickly.

BILL BLIGHT: A raging disease on Beacon Hill caused by avalanches of bills filed by unthinking members, special interest groups, etc., with the plain citizen pulling up at the rear. This is a costly and contagious disease. Bill Blight is seasonal and most of the bills are killed before they can do much harm, but they do clutter up the place.

Remedy: An effective Committee on Bills in Third Reading.

STAPH (FF) FUNGUS: This exotic disease has spread to all parts of the State House. Wherever there is a desk and a chair and a corner of an abandoned room or a full office, Staph (ff) is there. Some offices are covered with it and it seems to be growing in every nook and crany.

Remedy: Air the place out.

SPENDAPHOBIA: This affliction was first isolated in Massachusetts and recognized as a plague-like danger to society. It has been the fastest-spreading disease in government and at times has been out-of-control. Its symptoms are constant swelling (of the budget), followed by draining of resources. It can be very painful unless there is surgery.

Remedy: Surgery, by all means, and Formula 2½ (extra strength).

MARBLEFOOT: (Lobbyists' Disease): This malady is peculiar to lobbyists who are required to stand for hours on the marble floors outside the House and Senate chambers inportuning legislators one way or the other on legislation. Symptoms: sore feet, back strain and varicose veins. Marble floors are unyielding and many a lobbyist has gone down because of foot and back pressure. If the feet and back don't get them the mental strain will, dealing with Legislators who say "Yes" and then vote "No," or vice versa. It can send a man to the psychiatrist's couch or the Golden Dome Pub. The satisfaction for the agony of dealing with Legislators is that often their combat pay is very high.

Remedy: Try another profession.



If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I always do the very best I know how — the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

During Lincoln's presidency
Conversation at the White House
reported by Frank B. Carpenter

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A LEGISLATOR
(Who works at it)

- * Answer phone at home (6A.M. to 8 A.M.)
- * Shower, shave, dress, breakfast, put notes together for day's work.
- * Rush out the door, drive to State House (5 to 100 plus miles).
- * Kibitz with colleagues in State House parking lot, picking up latest political gossip.
- * On arrival in office glance through papers, hoping nothing bad has been said about you on the editorial pages.
- * Check mail. Dictate some responses.
- * Meet with Special interest Groups (They're everywhere).
- * Make several calls for constituents re: notary public blanks, driver's licenses, housing, civil service, nursing homes, veteran's problems, scholarships, jobs, selectmen, mayors, etc.
- * Confer with staff aids on matters on Senate-House calenders.
- * Grab a cup of coffee.
- * Return calls from district newspapers.
- * Check folder on Committee bills (Quick brainwash).
- * Rush up two flights to Committee hearing.
- * Hear testimony from wide range of citizens on a number of bills.
- * Question witnesses as to need for particular legislation. Argue with committee colleague concerning merits of proposals.
- * Stay for Executive Session so they won't report bad bills.
- * Forget lunch.
- * Deal with lobbyists who flag you down in the corridor.
- * Pass the time of day with a couple of colleagues who are in a hurry too.
- * Head for House or Senate chambers.
- * Check calender for "give away" bills, etc.
- * Become involved in a roaring debate.
- * Ask Speaker or President to move along your local bills.
- * File resolution congratulating one of your citizens.
- * Back in office for more dictation, constituent favors and visitors.
- * Talk to a couple of colleagues on phone to co-sponsor a bill.
- * Return calls to Governor's office (he wants your vote for something).
- * Glance through a couple of reports your aide said you must read.
- * Speak to an elderly group on visit to the State House.
- * Dictate a press release for local papers.
- * Return several calls back to your district.
- * Sign dictated letters in order to catch late mail.
- * Call home.
- * Glance at clock (got to get going).
- * Jam everything into briefcase, out the door, into car and back to the district.
- * Arrive 7 P.M. American Legion Dinner at which you are main speaker. You crank up a spell-binder which pleases veterans.
- * At 11 o'clock you arrive back home from a long, wearing day.
- * The kitchen table is covered with slips and telephone numbers, many of which state "call me no matter what time you get home."
- * 12:00 Midnight. You hit the pillow.
- * It was a tough day, and tomorrow will be exactly like the one you just lived through, maybe longer.

*SUCH IS THE WAY OF LIFE OF HE OR SHE WHO SERVES THE PEOPLE

----Senator John F. Parker

THE ROLE OF THE MINORITY

By

State Senate Republican Floor Leader
Hon. John F. Parker

There are few buildings in the City of Boston which have as high a traffic density as this old State House in which we now assemble for the purposes of this legislative seminar.

This old State House goes back to the mid-1790's, and that is coming into 200 years of continuous operation in the biggest business there is in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth itself.

When you came up the Hill today to attend this seminar, for some of you it may well be the first time in your whole life that you have visited the center of your state government.

Don't be concerned about that. It happens all the time. People pay taxes, elect individuals to serve as governor, legislators, or whatever, and never once from birth to death have they ever visited the State House to see what makes the whole operation tick.

So, it is good that you are here. If your time in these seminars is as productive as the many others that have gone before, you will leave with a better appreciation of what the process is all about--a government of laws and not of men.

These last words, "government of laws and not of men", are drawn from article 30 of the Constitution, when, after laying down the precepts under which the government should operate, John Adams and his colleagues closed out the first part of the Constitution with, "To the end it may be a government of laws and not of men. ..."

Those who drew up the Constitution had known that government left to the whims of man, the dictatorial power of man, the selfishness and greed of man, had always led to slavery, misery and human tragedy. They had witnessed the might of the Mother Country of England, and its King and Parliament which had disbanded the Colonial assembly, outlawed town government, taxed the people without representation, closed the port of Boston, and placed a military force in their midst in an attempt to suppress the people, all to no avail, as we know.

And, it was here in this area, around and near this old Beacon Hill, that the spirit of independence, resistance, and the right of the people to assemble received their strongest support.

So, you are in a very important building, the red brick part being the oldest; with its cornerstone laid by Samuel Adams and Paul Revere on July 4, 1795.

You are in a building where government of the people has a long history. After the experience with England, it was determined that there would be no one center of power. Everything would have its checks and balances. So, if we elected a governor, we elected a governor's council to keep an eye on his actions. So, if we elected a House and a Senate, the purpose was to have one check out the other. So, if we felt the people should have a government of their own, we would elect as many citizens as we could to represent us on Beacon Hill.

No way, we stated, was this government going to be run by a single individual. No sir. If the people had a grievance, they could have it heard right under the Golden Dome, under the rights given by Article 19 of the Constitution, to meet in an orderly and peaceable manner, to request of their legislators a redress of the wrongs done them and of the grievances they suffer.

That is how they wrote the Constitution. It means simply that no matter who you are, how you spell your name, which church you go to, be you black, white, or whatever, you have a right to approach your legislator and ask him to file a petition based on your grievance, want, need, or whatever.

That is the precious part of the Constitution and really what it is all about. The right of free petition, as it is familiarly known.

When all that was written some 200 years ago, the population of Massachusetts was about 350,000 people and included Maine, which was then part of Massachusetts. Now we have 6 million people.

In drawing up the legislative seats, John Adams and his associates called for a senate of 40 members, and it still remains the same number today.

The Constitutional framers knew that people are turbulent and this turbulence should, they argued, express itself in a House of Representatives. Here the grass roots would get first crack at legislative petitions and grievances. It would be close to the people. So, with over 700 towns in both Massachusetts and Maine, they came up with more than 700 House members.

An old-time writer called the Massachusetts House a nest of magpies, and often it was, as this unwieldy body rocked and roared through opening day ceremonies and during important sessions during the year. It was often out of control and has continued that way.

The Constitutional framers were so anxious to have government close to the people that they overwhelmed the House with members. This did not depreciate until Maine became its own state and reductions were made in the Massachusetts House from over 700 down to 550, then in 1856 down to 240, where it remained for more than 100 years until 1974 when it was reduced to its present number of 160, still the third highest in the nation.

Over these 200 years, more than 45,000 different individuals have served here in the General Court--this proudest and first of all legislative governments--which boasts it is the peoples' government, has the right of free petition, the right to be heard, the right to assemble, the right to bear arms, the right to be secure from unreasonable search and seizure, and on it goes. They were proud of the word "rights" because under the British they didn't have any. So, they sprinkled the word "rights" generously through the Constitution, which, despite amendments, remains basically today what it was when the men in the three-cornered hats and knee breeches served here in the Legislature.

Those early legislators considered the Massachusetts General Court an instrument of the people. Keep the legislators close to the people was the thought in the minds of the constitutional framers. They wanted to diffuse power, spread it out.

In those early years the people didn't crawl all over their legislators for bills of every nature. The simple needs of government was what it was all about. In fact, the first year the Legislature was in session in 1781, only 42 statutes were put on the books. There was no Golden Goose.

As long ago as 100 years, the number of bills filed had not even reached 1,000, and in 1881 the number of measures passed into law was about 300. Contrast that with 10,000 bills in the 1984 Legislative hopper.

One hundred and twenty-five years ago, the organizational chart of the Commonwealth listed only 14 agencies of government. Things were real simple, under control, close to the people, and they were able to understand it.

This is only a partial breakdown and organizational chart to today's agencies, a real spider's web, beyond the comprehension of not only the average citizen, but the average legislator as well.

When the Constitution was written, there were no provisions included for party government. In fact, George Washington had always warned against party government as debilitating, and worse.

Take it or leave it, what party government has done above all else has been to create a legislative minority status. I know, for that is my role, Senate Minority Leader.

As the development of political parties came on the American scene in the years after the Constitution, all the worst things in humans surfaced, such as racial, religious, ethnic and status-in-life hatreds, the rich vs. the poor, as it were.

In the early years of party development there were the Federalists, Whigs, Know-Nothings, Free Soilers, Hocus Pocus, Barn Burners, Libertyites, and on it went endlessly until the Democrats emerged as the dominant party, in the early 1800's.

This party power held until just before the Civil War when the Republicans gained strength as an anti-slavery party.

Now, for all these 125 years or so, here in the Massachusetts Legislature at least, the Democrats and the Republicans have been the dominant political parties.

After the Civil War, for many decades, the Legislative control in this State House was Republican. This all changed in 1948 when "Tip" O'Neill, now speaker of the National Congress, became the first Democrat to sit as Massachusetts House Speaker since before the Civil War. Ten years later, the Senate went Democratic, in 1958, when John Powers became the President.

Now, for the past 35 years, the Democrats have controlled the House and for 26 years the Senate, with each passing election reducing the number of Republicans to the point where they number just 29 out of 160 in the House and 7 out of 40 in the Senate, creating, as I stated, a situation which is debilitating, difficult to deal with, overwhelming at times, often terribly discouraging, and always very lonely.

The reason I point that out is that my assignment here this morning is to speak of the Legislature and the role of the minority within that structure.

Being in a legislative minority for a long period of time is not the greatest thing in the world. As I pointed out, it can be depressing, to say the least.

To be sure, there is some small solace to be derived from working to improve the program of the majority--a smart amendment here or there, pointing out the dangers in a piece of legislation, embarrassing the majority with more knowledge of the issue than they have, doing better research, scaring them into a caucus or back to a committee, sounding off in debate with the thunder of Zeus, attacking, attacking, attacking, and hardly ever coming up

with the brass ring. Often all you get out of it is a headache after hours of debate, maneuver and amendment, a pounding from the majority and an overwhelming roll call vote against you, even though you are as right as rain. Then, when it is all over, the lonely trip back to your office to salve your wounds, cool down and reflect, while the majority often come in here to this office, laughing and joking about how they put it to the minority by a vote of 33-7, or any part thereof.

That goes on all the time, and it goes with the territory of being minority leader. You live with it, for you have no choice.

Often I feel sorry for some members of the minority. They capably point out the errors in legislation, the force plays, the pork barrel bills, the midnight legislation, the crafty, seemingly harmless amendments and who stand in there like General Custer at Little Big Horn, and who finally succumb to too many Indians and too many arrows.

On almost any bill, if the Leadership wants it, despite any minority opposition showing it up for what it is--probably another raid on the Treasury--they get it by pulling out all the stops and shooting the minority like fish in a barrel. The Leadership knows how to line up its own ducks, and 7 ducks against 40 is never very good odds.

Often this is what discourages minority members. Over the years a number of them have come to me and advised me this would be their last term, arguing they were tired of beating their heads against a stone wall, of having little direct effect on legislation, either on committees or on the floor, and certainly none at all on the Ways and Means and Conference Committees. They see no relief; so they leave. They are good, sincere legislators but become weary of anti-elderly, anti-union, anti-poor, anti-this and anti-that attitudes that prevail against the minority, when all they argue is, "For God's sake, rich or poor, how in heaven are the people going to pay for it all and we can't spend the government into oblivion."

So, the minority gets itself a negative image because it tries to offer positive thoughts on the direction of government. They get tarred with being insensitive and uncaring. They get knocked around as irresponsible. They have a tough job raising money for campaigns as against the majority. They cry about "blow the bundle" budgets and the thin ice of a 6 billion dollar budget, all the time knowing that this place is crawling with narrow interests and much of the populace has a head-in-the sand attitude and if they want something for nothing, the place to get it is from the majority.

Now, I don't talk majority and minority as we hate them and they hate us. Mostly that is not so, although there are some members of the majority who look forward to the day when there is no minority voice at all in here, no roll calls, no debate, no amendments, no contention, and no strife; nothing but pure power, one-sided influence and rotten government.

I might say for certain that the President of this Senate is not of the mind that there should be no minority. It certainly is not his fault that the minority is in such poor shape that it does not have enough votes to obtain a roll call. Obviously, the people who do the voting in the cities and towns have made the judgment of overwhelming one-party government.

Yet, even the few votes we have in the minority often have a leavening effect on legislation, coalescing with certain majority members for the passage or defeat of legislation. Examples are the almost defeat of the gas tax last week by a single vote, the defeat of the measure to legalize marijuana, the 20-year-old drinking bill, putting witness immunity on the books, debt ceilings, outside sections to the budget, and on it goes, scarcely ever being followed or appreciated but often the little block that saves the day. The majority celebrates the victory and crowds into the Governor's office for the pictures, and we go home quietly, knowing that if we voted the other way there would be no pictures and no celebration.

We, as a minority, led the floor fight for rules changes, and there were changes made, on night sessions, pay raises, committee appointments, and so forth.

While I have never heard the majority say, "The minority is right; let's do it their way," and I never will. I have seen bright ideas of the minority adopted, and it's very simple how they do it. For instance: Some weeks ago, the majority, as a favor to the labor unions, came in with a bill to establish a Secretary of Labor. They had tied it into Consumer Affairs, giving the new secretary of labor control of all kinds of consumer agencies that have nothing to do with Labor. As minority leader, I pointed out that if the majority wanted a Secretary of Labor, so be it. Do it and leave the other agencies alone. I offered an amendment to that effect. My amendment was defeated, with the usual anti-union attitude. The original went along. Lo and behold, when the bill again showed up on the calendar for enactment, it had been changed to just about what I said it should have been, and the same people who voted down my amendment now got credit for putting through a concise piece of labor legislation. I took another lonely walk back to my office, winning by indirection.

Again, it happens all the time. I'm telling you this, not as sour grapes, but how it works. If I gilded the lily and told you it was all tea and crumpets in here, I would be wasting your time. It can be hard and rough and no holds barred.

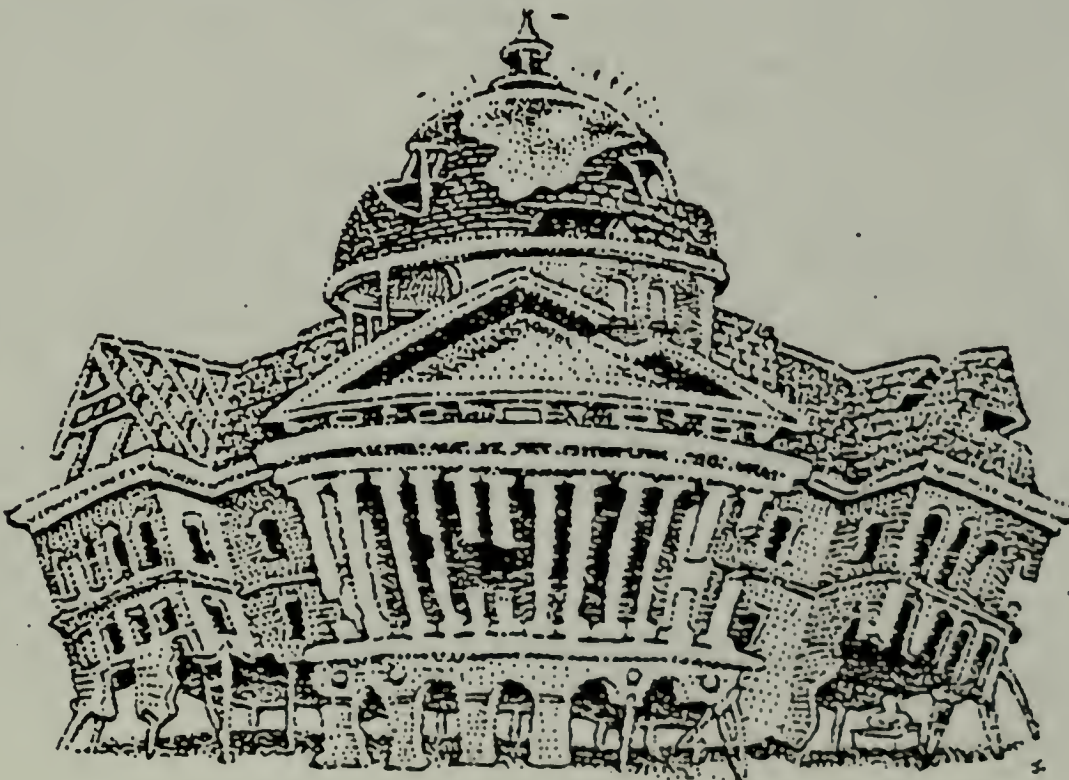
While mostly the minority loses the ups and downs of roll call votes, and we take it as the price of fame, occasionally the right set of circumstances or incredible boldness can obtain results.

Several years ago during a bitter redistricting floor fight, when the Democrats refused to make provisions for a black district in Boston, the first on record, the Minority Republicans walked out of the Senate in a body, causing threats of arrest, consternation, violence, and what not. We stuck to our guns and refused to come back in until that Black Senate seat was carved out. The majority gave way, and today a Black senator sits in the Senate, thanks to the Republican minority's boldness and defiance.

In closing, permit me to refer to Alexander DeToqueville, who long ago said, "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority."

One-time House member Robert Luce, who served both here and in Congress, put it another way when he said, "It will be a sorry day for democratic government when not a single man or woman can be found who when the destinies of the Commonwealth are being shaped, who can take the floor and speak as a member of the minority...."

A minority is as indispensable to the success of democratic government. It keeps the card game honest and maintains a government of laws and not of men.



A PERSPECTIVE

By

John F. Parker
Minority Leader
Massachusetts Senate

Not more than 20 years ago, most members of the General Court had only their desks in the House and Senate Chambers to serve as an office. The entire legislative process was conducted in the Chambers or in the lobbies. As many as 10 telephone booths were lined up in the Senate lobby and another 30 or so in the House lobby. In these booths, legislators carried out most of their legislative and constituent business.

Visits to the State House from constituents or other groups were handled in the lobby for there were no areas set aside for meeting with visitors. If a legislator was not in his seat he just stood around the lobby, passing the time of day and waiting for an opportunity to use one of the telephones. During a recess of the House or Senate, members flooded out into the lobby and exchanged views, lined up support or just stood around waiting for the action to begin again. There was tremendous camaraderie in the lobby. It was a sight to see most of the 240 House members milling about. The same was true for the Senate. If legislators were not in the lobby, they were at their desks, often writing letters in long-hand, for there was no secretarial staff per se.

With the development of small secretarial pools, legislators crowded into the cramped quarters - - 2 secretaries for the Senate and a few more for the House. The wait for correspondence was long, but at least it was better than long-hand responses. Next came room space for as many as 8 Senators in a single room and one secretary. The House continued its pool. It was a beginning.

The only personal or committee staff in the State House was in the Speaker's or President's office, with the Committees on Ways & Means in both branches staffed by three or four people. Even the floor leaders had no additional staff. Committees went their way alone, grinding out legislation based on Committee study and interpretation. This reflected itself in the high level of outstanding debate. Committee Chairmen and members did a great deal personal homework and when the debate started they were ready.

In the 1960's, studies were being made of legislative functions across the nation. One particular study pointed out that Massachusetts was one of the states that needed legislative modernization and staffing. It was not meeting modern standards.

In the 1970's, things were happening to permit staffing for legislators and office space as well. The incredible battle to reduce the size of the House from 240 to 160 members opened up one avenue. The construction of the John McCormack building was the other. Dozens of agencies could be moved from the State House to the McCormack building thus freeing up office space at the State House for legislators.

The leaders of that period took their share of shots for trying to modernize the Massachusetts legislature. When they had completed the work all kinds of agencies had been moved out until the State House became mostly legislative and executive. Where once the State House was a bee-hive of activity, now, on some days when the General Court is not in session, the building is virtually empty except for scurrying staff members and tourists.

In 20-plus years, the Massachusetts General Court has come from "an office under everybody's hat" to position where each House member has office facilities, an aide and in some cases more. Committee chairmen have fine offices and expanded staffs. A rule passed in 1983 ensures that every Senator is allowed 3 staff members and in some cases more. Committee chairmen also have larger staffs.

Where once a legislator had to retreat to the men's room to discuss a bill with colleague if he was looking for some privacy, the last few years have brought about a tremendous transformation. Legislative comfort is now the order of the day.

There is no question that the far-reaching reform of the last 20-plus years has been an enhancement to each member's legislative capacity, thanks to the pioneering of legislative leaders. Benefits to legislators are far greater now than long ago. The salaries and expenses are higher because of leadership action. Senators have individual offices as do many House members. There are aides and secretaries and in some cases district aides. Legislators have at their disposal computers, statutory retrieval, word processing, xerox copiers, filing cabinets, personal telephones, etc. - - a far cry from not-so-long-ago days when everything a legislator owned was in his briefcase. He had a desk in the chamber, an inkwell, and stationery that was printed without a fancy seal.

The opportunity for participation in the legislative process is greater now than ever before. Lots of the old norms have been broken down. Government is far more wide-open than in previous years. Standing Committees, Executive Sessions, Conference Committees are now open to public view. Even night sessions cannot now be held unless by a vote of the House or Senate. If a legislator wants to cut in on the action, he has far more opportunity to do so now than in other years.

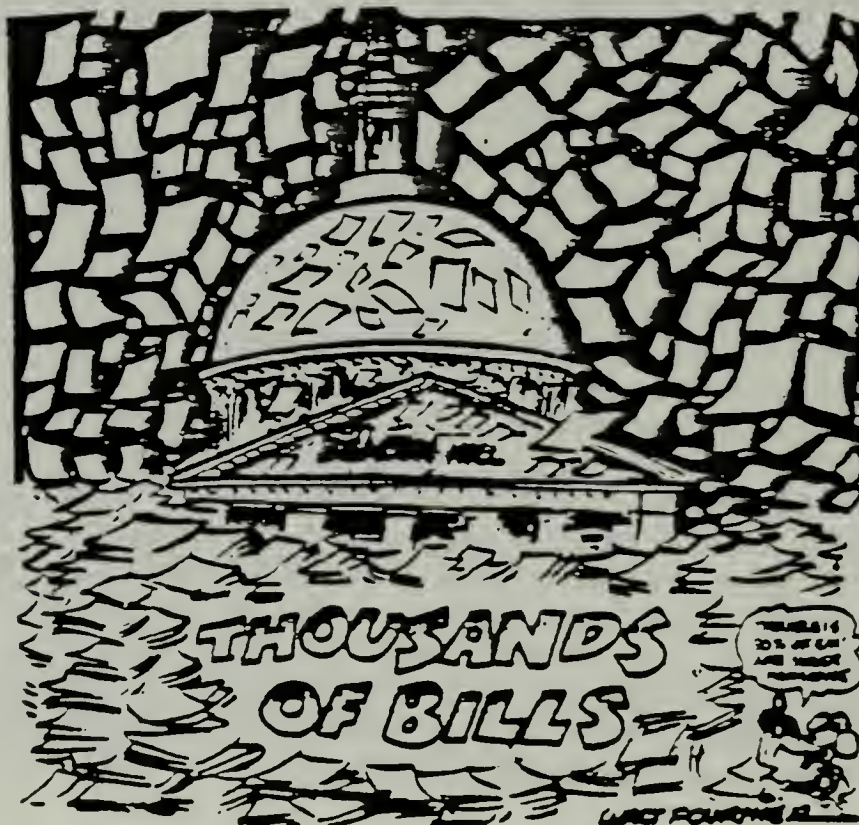
Whether too much sunshine is good or bad, remains to be seen. Ever since the General Court has ripped off its doors, it can't seem to prorogue and finds itself with the longest legislative sessions in the nation.

Elected on their own in many cases, legislators, endowed with all the amenities of office, are not willing to be led by anyone. Every legislative leader across the nation now realizes his own power has been diminished as legislators go off on their own.

As the legislative transformation has brought about many benefits, there are also dangers. Now many legislators come to the chambers only to vote. No longer do legislators mill outside the House or Senate lobbies. The mix is gone. Even television has not added greatly to attendance. The legislative world is different now. A legislator's office is everything. The end result is that there is a lack of meaningful debate and most of that is left to the gadflies, who at least keep the pot boiling.

Committee chairpersons, in some cases have placed undue reliance on staff members. It shows up in their inability to handle a measure in debate. The end result can easily lead to overriding staff influence without direction and control. This danger is cropping up in many legislative bodies across the nation and is of considerable concern to leadership.

But all in all most of what has been done is for the best. In these modern times, a freshman legislator has it made over what his counterpart of 20-plus years ago had to go through to serve his constituents.



THE ANNUAL BUZZARD GOES ON!!

'To Hell with the Constitution, It's Up to You to Uphold the Law' and Other Great Moments in Politics

Sen. John Parker (Mass.)

The Minority Leader of the Massachusetts Senate conducts a guided tour through the lighter side of political life.

"If this Senate was made up of nothing but solemn asses," a Southern legislator once said, "this government would fall apart in a month." His point—that humor in politics is not merely a diversion, but a survival technique—is widely accepted, and nearly everyone in politics develops a keen ear for the one-liners, put-downs, fluffs, yarns and anecdotes of public life. But few have collected so many stories in one place as has Massachusetts State Senator John F. Parker, in his book "The Fun and Laughter of Politics" (Doubleday & Co., New York). With his cooperation, we offer the following:

The telephone at the State House in Boston rang early one afternoon. A voice at the other end asked, "Is this the gas company?"

"Why no," said the operator, "this is the State House."

There was a moment of silence, then the cutting voice on the other end of the line remarked, "Well, I didn't miss by much, did I?"

During an emotional debate on the death penalty in the Massachusetts Senate, Kevin B. Harrington, president of that body, received a call from a disturbed constituent, demanding that the death penalty be passed.

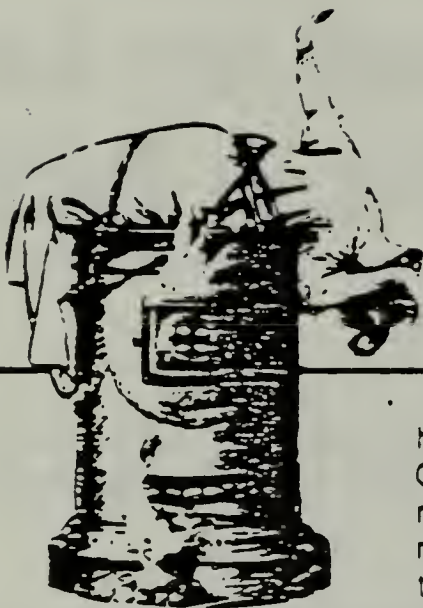
Harrington told the constituent that the bill was probably unconstitutional. There was a pause on the phone and then the constituent cried: "To hell with the Constitution. It's up to you to uphold the law!"

Replying to rough letters is always a harrowing task. But one Pennsylvania legislator came up with this answer to a crackpot letter:

"Sir, my stenographer, being a lady, cannot write what I think of you. I, being a gentleman, cannot say it. You, being neither, will understand what I mean."

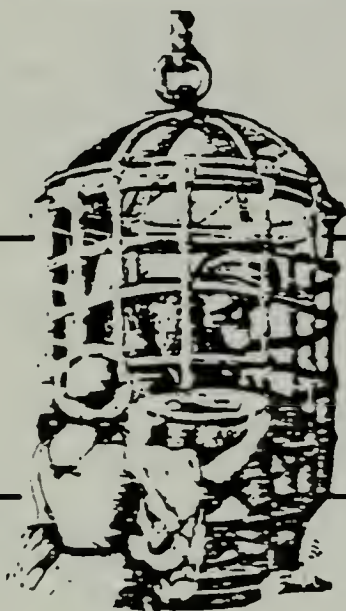
Out on the campaign trail, the deadly blunder follows the politician like a poor relative, popping up where he least expects it. One of the best was uttered in New Hampshire, where a tremendous debate developed over pasteurized milk. A candidate, in a blaze of indignation, shouted: "What this state needs is clean, fresh pasteurized milk and if elected, I'm going to the State House and demand that we take the bull by the horns and get it." This was matched by a Southwestern congressional aspirant who said: "My opponent deserves to be





Every legislator sooner or later delivers his so-called "maiden speech." Often, he thinks the eyes of the world are upon him; generally, of course, he's mistaken. One freshman House member, however, broke into print on his first visit to the microphone. Unfamiliar with the timeworn expression "maiden speech," the member proudly stood before the House, addressed the Speaker, and announced that he was going to deliver his "virgin speech."

Conversation in the Senate cloakroom often centers on the abilities of fellow senators. One lawmaker had this to say about a colleague: "He's got a lot of depth on the surface, but deep down he's shallow."



It was a hot Democratic caucus in New Jersey and several candidates were vying for approval as candidates for Congress. All of the candidates save one were young. During his pleas for caucus approval the elderly candidate insisted that he still had his youth and could put up a good fight.

"He may still have his youth," said a delegate, "but we've got to find someone who hasn't had it quite so long."

Sir Boyle Roche was an Irish politician more famous for his mixed metaphors than anything else. Sir Boyle hit the brass ring for blunders when he wrote the following resolution for a new jail in Dublin: "Resolved that the new prison shall be built on the site and with the materials of the old one, and that the prisoners shall continue to reside in the old prison until the new one is completed."

Politicians grow bleary-eyed attempting to follow the cocktail circuit. The hostess at a Washington cocktail party came upon a congressman looking thoughtfully through his notebook. "Ah," she said, "I'll bet you're checking on where you must go next?"

"Not at all, madam," the tired congressman replied, "I'm just trying to find out where I am now."

When Calvin Coolidge was lieutenant governor of Massachusetts and not so widely known as in later years, he was seated beside a woman at a Boston dinner. The lady apparently did not know who Coolidge was, for she asked:

"And what do you do, sir?"

"I'm lieutenant governor," said Silent Cal.

"Oh, how exciting," she beamed, "tell me all about it."

"I just did," replied Cal.

A man wrote his congressman that he'd like to be an inventor but didn't want to waste his time on things already invented. "Will you please go down to the patent office," the letter read, "and get me a list of things that haven't been invented. Get me the answers by return mail as I am anxious to get to work."

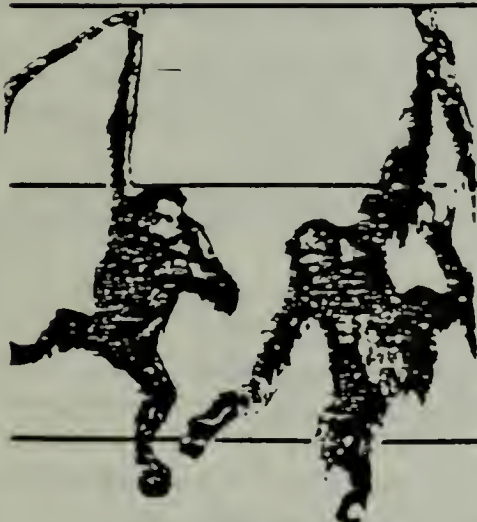
It was a bitter battle for a Louisiana House seat and both candidates were reaching for the bottom of the barrel. Finally, one candidate announced at a huge outdoor rally: "I hate to say this, but my opponent has a bad reputation. He not only steals money, but he drinks heavily and chases around after women."

"That's great," piped a voice from the rear of the crowd, "we won't have to break him in."



The banquet circuit has provided more than its share of bloopers. One unfortunate master of ceremonies wrecked an evening by saying: "And Congressman Smith is a public servant who is equal to few and superior to none." During a moment of inspiration, a Lincoln Day speaker declared, "and it is fitting to pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln, who was born in a log cabin that he built with his own hands." Another MC brought down the house by announcing, "and now, ladies and gentlemen, I will ask Senator Crosby to come to the rectum." And introducing the Governor of the Virgin Islands, a toastmaster said the usual things and ended with, "It's a pleasure to introduce the Virgin of Governor's Island."

One memorable blunder was made by a young man who was to be awarded a trophy by the mayor of his city. Shaking with fright, the youngster approached the head table. The mayor handed him the trophy and extended his congratulations. The nervous youngster responded: "From the heart of my bottom I thank you."



A vacillating congressman once asked his aide—"About that charge that I'm indecisive—do you think I should answer it, or let it go, or answer it in part, or what?"

The aide just shook his head.

Mayor Jimmy Walker once sent a communication to the Board of Aldermen calling for a sizeable appropriation to purchase a hundred gondolas for Central Park. A Brooklyn alderman rose angrily and protested that the amount was excessive.

"I move," he shouted, "that we buy one male gondola and one female gondola and let nature take its course."

An upstate New York district had been represented by a slow-moving, do-nothing individual for more than 20 years. Finally, he just went to sleep and died.

At the funeral, a small-town preacher was called upon to deliver the oration. Somehow his subconscious thoughts about the congressman came to the fore as he said, "... and the corpse has represented this district for 20 years."

In an emotional appeal for votes, a young legislative candidate named Ruso said on television, "Don't forget, folks, Ruso is the name, spelled R-U-S-O. R stands for righteousness, U stands for unity, S stands for service, and O stands for honesty."



A veteran congressman found himself running against a young, fast-moving candidate. The youngster was one of the so-called "beautiful people." With a face like a Greek god, he naturally went for television in a big way. One of his TV programs showed the young man walking with his wife through a green pasture, looking upward toward the sky while the cows grazed peacefully in the background. It was an impressive program, designed to demonstrate that the candidate was an outdoorsman.

The elder congressman's answer to the TV advertisement was simple and devastating. He said: "I may not be as smart as my young opponent, but at least I have sense enough to look down when I'm walking through a cow pasture."

He won overwhelmingly.

When an Iowa senator returned from a campaign speech, he was asked by his secretary: "Well, how did it go? Did you kill them?"

"No," said the senator wearily. "I didn't have to. They were dead when I got there."

Virginia Senator Carter Glass once engaged a new young member in debate. When Glass had finished with him, the new senator was totally embarrassed.

The next day the young senator sought out Glass and said, "I'm afraid I made a fool of myself in debate yesterday."

Glass patted him on the shoulder and in a low voice said, "Son, I assure you I observed nothing unusual."



Senator Glass was always a rough man in debate, but like all politicians he was rebuffed more than once. Glass admitted that the worst setback he had ever received was not on the floor of the Senate but at a farmer's meeting at a little village in his home state.

"I was addressing the gathering on a live issue that had an important bearing on local agricultural interests," said Glass. "In the midst of my speech a man arose and said: 'I'd like ter ask yer a question about that.'"

"I was in the midst of an important point and did not want to be interrupted, so I said: 'If you will kindly wait until the close of my talk, I will do my best to answer you.'"

"The man persisted in forcing his question, which brought another man to his feet, shouting, 'Sit down, you ass!'"

"An altercation of a wholly personal and uncomplimentary character followed between the two men, when a third man got up and said: 'Sit down. The two of yer; both of yer are asses.'"

"And here's where I blew it," Glass said. "I turned to the three of them and said, 'There seems to be an unusual number of asses here tonight, but for heaven's sake let's hear one at a time.'"

"Whereupon the first gentleman, pointing a long finger at me, said, 'Well, you go anead, then.'"

"I'll tell you," said a three-term legislator to a reporter, "a guy has to be some kind of a nut and an oddball to want this damn job—but please don't quote me on that. As you know, I'm running for re-election."



HOW DO THEY KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING?

Many of the Legislative Committees hold hearings on as many as 100 bills in a single sitting. How any person can know what is in all of these petitions it is impossible to fathom. One after another citizens and interested sponsors are given a shot at speaking out on whatever measure they might have an interest in.

Legislators are given first crack at expressing themselves before a committee. On a particularly romantic piece of legislation and one that has enough sex appeal to draw the television cameras, the parade of legislators goes on by the hour, to the exclusion of the general public. This irritates citizens who have other things to do and have been required to buy gas, pay heavy parking fees to get to the State House and then sweat it out in a hot committee room before he or she as the "public" gets a shot at their bill.

As one notes the array of "bills-to-be-heard" in a Committee room, he or she wonders to themselves, "Who is it who knows everything about these bills?"

For the benefit of anyone who wants to know, a bill does one of three things: It creates a new law, it amends a present law, or it strikes one from the books. Then it becomes complicated.

It is not too difficult to understand a simple petition by a citizen. He never wants much and therefore in the mass of 10,000 bills each year, one will find that less than 6% are filed by ordinary citizens. The rest come from legislators, special interest groups, labor, business, government agencies, the governor and legislative leaders. So, in effect, there is some question about who the legislature is in business to serve.

In any event unless the bill is a clear petition for a new law without reference to the old law, the trouble starts. It may not be too difficult to understand the first bill before the committee. Once the bill is changed (amended) the worms get into the cheese. Committees are good at amending bills. They seem to tamper with every piece of legislation, and everything becomes a jigsaw puzzle.

If the proposed legislation is amended in several sections by the Committee in executive session, then the interested parties must refer back to the old statute to see what is going on and again it becomes increasingly complicated.

To properly understand most bills, the annotated laws must be researched to see what is being changed. Many bills are hundreds of pages long. They are complicated King Kongs, amending and repealing present statutes and forcing legislators to vote and pray.

Many a bill starts out in one direction and over the course of its journey picks up amendments that set it on a course heading 190 degrees from its original intent. It is a super-human task to watch all bills on their journey through the legislative process or as one House member put it, "We filed a bill for a bridge over the river and when it reached the House floor with amendments, they had recommended the dam bridge be built lengthwise."

SHOULD A LEGISLATOR READ ALL THE BILLS?

(By a Former State Senator)

"As a newly elected State Senator, I was the victim of my own ignorance over and over compounded. It seemed to me that I knew nothing of all the innumerable things I needed to know. I was, in the first place, not a lawyer. I quickly discovered, partly as a result of this, that there was no use in reading all the thousands of bills introduced into the General Court. There was no way I could understand what I read.

"Nor had I one-tenth enough time to master them even if I read them all. Most of them were beyond my comprehension.

"I gave it a quick try, however, because I had read that some years before a candidate for the House ran on a 'I'm going to read all the bills' platform and he was elected overwhelmingly for it sounded good to the electorate. 'Why shouldn't he read the bills?' they stated.

"It was not until I reached the Senate that I heard the story on what happened to the old-time legislator who promised to 'read all the bills.' An old-time court officer told me the story.

"As the court officer explained it this legislator who promised to read all the bills started right in at the opening session calling for bills to be brought to his desk for reading. The page boys piled his desk high with every bill imaginable on every subject under the sun. He was sitting there under an eyeshade and with a determined look on his face.

"Five days later he was still there, unshaven and unkempt, but still reading bills. First it was a hundred, then to a thousand, then two thousand, then three and four thousand and the reading process was not even half through. A reporter asked him if he was learning anything, and the reply was, 'I can understand the words, but I can't understand the sentences.

"Into the 10th day the legislator suddenly collapsed while reading a complicated reform package, was hospitalized with fatigue and Legislators' Disease, otherwise known as 'boggle of the mind.'

"The emotional stress of trying to read every bill was so great that this legislator never fully recovered. His opponent in the next election charged he had not lived up to his campaign promise to 'read all the bills.' On this broken promise the legislator was defeated.

"As a Senator I received my best advice from that ancient court officer, who had seen them come and go. It was 'Read the bills and work to get them through that affect your district. They are your meat and potatoes. Next read the bills in your committees, so you can speak on them on the floor. Watch the Governor's bills and the Leader's. Remember out of 10,000 bills only about 700 make it to the Governor's signature and half of them are unimportant to you. 90% of the bills filed never make it through for mostly they are garbage, simply legislative puff pieces.

"I took the court officer's advice and I have saved my eyesight, and have been here 16 years. My people love me and it looks like I'll be here for another 10 years. If I read all the bills, I would have lost the election long ago or wound up in a rubber room."

THE MAIL

There are several categories of legislative mail. The first is the "I want" or the "I don't want" mail. Then there is the "I believe mail" or the "Please help me mail."

The first is from a person directly affected by a piece of proposed legislation---union members, nurses, business people, etc. The second, which constitutes the largest amount---is sent by citizens with views on major pieces of legislation and which receive wide publicity, such as auto insurance, ERA, environmental matters, etc.

The third comes from people who have trouble coping with governmental agencies and seek out a response from their legislator to cut through the red tape and get him some answers. The "Please help me" letters require tremendous effort in some cases for the complication of the problem can be very great. The "Please help me" letters take up a tremendous amount of a legislator's time, but often there is enormous satisfaction that you have unraveled a problem. In the "Please help me" category, however, there are many disappointments simply because many of the matters brought to the attention of a legislator are beyond solving.

For all the difficulties in dealing with "Please help me" mail, legislators generally derive the greatest satisfaction out of being able to assist some constituent in dealing with bureaucracy or cutting red tape.

LONGEVITY RECORDS

The longest term as Chaplain of the House was by Rev. Daniel Waldron, who served from 1879-1918, a total of 39 years. The Chaplaincy record in the Senate goes to Rev. Edmund Dowse, a total of 24 years from 1880-1904.

The longest service as Clerk and Parliamentarian in the Senate goes to Henry D. Coolidge, 1889-1922, a total of 33 years. Longest House Clerk service was by James W. Kimball, 31 years from 1897-1928. Charles O. Holt holds the record for longevity as Sergeant-at-Arms, 28 years from 1921-1949.



*The motto is the second of two lines written about A.D. 1659 by Algernon Sydney, the famous English patriot, in the Book of Mortoes in the King's library at Copenhagen, Denmark. The complete phrase is: —

... Manus haec inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

It was adopted in 1775 by the provincial congress, when we were at war with England, and was intended as a message to England. It is a peaceful motto and means, "By the sword we seek peace, but peace only under liberty."

"MR. SPEAKER..."

There is nothing wrong with any legislator taking the microphone in the well of the House and speaking out on legislation. The same is true for the floor of the Senate.

Many legislators do indulge in so-called debate, which is pretty mild as compared with long-ago when the total preparation of a bill was a legislator's responsibility. So, therefore, filled with the subject matter he was generally a fountain of knowledge on legislation. Put two or more of these old-time legislators into a debate and the paint peeled off the wall. They knew their parliamentary rights also and the combination of knowledge of legislation and the rule book brought on some hell-fire debates on the floor of the House or Senate.

In any event, times have changed and it can be argued "for better or worse" so far as on-the-floor action is concerned.

Senator H. L. Richardson of California has commented on bill-reading and floor action and laments the fact that many legislators are not ready for debate, but just flail away, substituting bombast for depth.

"A number of years ago," wrote Senator Richardson, "a House member took the microphone and roared, 'We have before us a bill that is poor legislation at best, and a disaster at worst. Why, if this becomes law...'"

The orator went on and on spelling out the inadequacies of the bill, how much damage it would do to the state, if it became law, and everything including motherhood, apple pie and what not were at stake. The bill was a calamity, an affront to the legislative process. It was simply a Turkey.

As he was reaching his peroration and blazing away with all guns firing, a colleague pulled on his coat and kept saying 'Psst, Charlie, psst.' and more tugs.

Finally, after a tug nearly pulled him over, the eloquent one put his hand over the microphone and whispered, 'What the heck do you want?' Can't you see I'm trying to kill this terrible bill?'

His colleague replied, "Take a look at the cover of the Bill, bigmouth. You are the principal sponsor!"

Whipping back into gear, the articulate member shouted, "Gentlemen, I have just presented all the specious arguments that will be used against this outstanding piece of legislation. I thought it only fair to present the opposition's views before I speak on this outstanding bill's merits for your consideration."

Then, in glowing terms the legislator proceeded to talk an equal amount of time on the glories of the bill.

The moral of this little story is: "Before you sound off against a bill, read it. It might be one of your own."

JFP

THE REALITIES OF LEGISLATIVE LIFE

Remarks By State Senate Minority Leader John F. Parker

Orientation Panel - Incoming Legislature

State House, Boston, January 10, 1983

Three years ago in 1980, the General Court of Massachusetts celebrated its 200th year under the Constitution making it the oldest assembly in continuous existence in the United States.

Prior to 1780, the General Court, since 1630, had functioned in one form or another as a single branch for a long period of time under the watchful eye of the King of England and Parliament. You will note this fact as you see upon the walls of this building many portraits of old-time King-appointed Governors of this colony of Massachusetts.

We all know that in the days prior to the Revolution, King George and Parliament dissolved the General Court because of agitation against taxation without representation. The members then had to meet secretly, always fearful of being shot at by British soldiers bivouacked in Boston in increasing numbers. It was not a pleasant situation for public servants.

In this year of 1983, the two-hundred and third year of the General Court, we have no fear as Legislators of capture or being shot at by the British to be sure, but as you move into and settle into either the House or Senate chambers, you will run up against a different breed of sharpshooter, militant pressure groups.

Every conceivable human want, need and ailment, desire, hope, ambition, cause or demand will find a legislative sharpshooter out in those corridors drawing beads on Legislators, shooting them down and bagging them, often like so many ducks.

Get yourself a list from the Sergeant-At-Arms office and amaze yourself at how many groups have lobbyists on Beacon Hill, all the way from labor and industry, right down to cat and dog lovers, who can be the most powerful and accurate sharpshooters of all.

Never in your wildest dreams would you ever imagine that these corridors would find so many sharpshooters drawing beads on individual YOU and for only one thing, your vote, either yes or no, or take a walk.

I don't say it's bad. I just say that is how it will be and you might as well know it. These professional lobbyists know more about you by now than even your mother. Dealing with them goes with the territory. You have to make your own judgments and, again, I repeat, mostly they are not bad people. They understand where you're coming from. They are here as professionals to get what they can for their clients or their organization or to kill what they can and they are good at it and, in my opinion, they do their jobs with a high sense of purpose and personal honor. If not, they are gone.

No matter what you have ever been in life before, you took the oath of office last Wednesday in either the House or Senate chambers. Your new role as Senator or Representative will be quite unlike anything you have ever experienced. There is only one General Court and you are now part of it for better or worse. What you do over the next couple of years with this ever-transitory glory is up to you.

Becoming a Legislator will change your whole life. It is a new and fascinating experience. As the pot boils and the steam escapes, you are going to learn what pressure is all about. You're not always going to be on the right side as your conscience and principles hold you in line often against brutal criticism or you will follow the easy course, whatever that may be.

As I said, this is a new life for most of you. You now belong to the people as well as your family. Becoming a Legislator is bound to change your life dramatically. There are times when your telephone will bang off the wall and the callers won't be telling you they are bringing over some chickens or eggs or wishing you a Merry Christmas or Happy Birthday. They will be angry at some of your votes or they will want you to come up with miracles they couldn't expect from the Shrine of St. Anne De Beaupre or from Lourdes or wherever and believe me, as one who has been through it, very often you can perform the miracles with tenaciousness and persistence but also there are the dead-ends, and they beat the miracles by at least 10 to 1.

It is never easy and when all else fails, the Legislator gets the problem and you have to batter down the bureaucracy to get results and often, in order to help a constituent, you have to ingratiate yourself and that can raise hell with your independence when certain bills come up for action on the floor. The very same constituent whose son you helped out with the local court will blow out your brains if you vote to give the clerk a raise or raises for the Housing Authorities who try to help your elderly constituents through you or a job here and there in public or private employment and on it goes. Back scratching is a big thing in politics. If you don't have to do it, how lucky you are. If you won't do a favor, you're as rare as the Dodo bird if there's still one alive. You make you own measure of this but I tell you that more than 100,000 people bang away at their Legislators every year for anything from a pint of blood to get me a visa to heaven. You have to handle it in your own way and good luck but there's a hell of a lot of satisfaction in doing something good for a constituent even despite the fact you're going to wind up grumbling about gratitude and find yourself obligated to some agency head.

Your consumption of chicken, roast beef and finger sandwiches will increase. You will be asked to donate trophies, put ads in programs, give speeches on subjects you will know little about but you will do well. It's part of the game. Legislators are targets for everything that troubles the human race.

If you represent an aggressive district, you will rarely spend an evening at home. There will be just too much going on, weddings, wakes, cocktail parties, hospital meetings, service clubs. Endlessly it will go on, eating up your calendar like Pac Man. Congressman Joe Martin used to say, "To survive in this business, you've got to meet all planes, trains and ships from the sea." and he survived for 42 years.

The public is a demanding taskmaster. If you show indifference, the word gets around and you're in trouble at the next election. The people like recognition, in fact, they hunger for it. You may be the highest political figure lots of people will ever know. It's up to you to provide the recognition they seek, flattery, and everybody needs new ones as old ones fall away.

Service in the House or Senate will become exhilarating and interesting to many of you. Others will find it dull and a waste of time. Many of you will be disappointed as you see the manipulating, the crassness, the raw politics and the bull-doing that goes on.

Others will find it a terrific challenge and plunge in feet first caring less who likes it. Bully for you I say. A Government of rubber stamps is a disaster.

Many of you will be assigned to committees where you can put your expertise to work. Others will not get that chance and you may be allowed to drift, pushed out to the fringe, lost in the shuffle. Some of you will rise to leadership levels. Others will fall by the wayside, disillusioned and with a feeling of abandonment.

What you contribute will be up to you. Your courage, your desire, your ability and the luck of the draw, meaning the attention of the President or the Speaker.

If you are like the rest of us, you will worry and fret and have sleepless nights asking yourself over and over again, "Did I vote right? or "How am I going to vote tomorrow?" It can get to you.

You will find out that no two people in this Legislature are exactly alike, different angles, philosophies, point of view. You'll run into schemers, dreamers, milquetoasts, saint and sinner all striving for the same thing but in different ways, the next election.

In here you will make some lifelong friends and legislative enemies as the aggressors try to take you over. You will know the thrill of victory and the heartache of defeat. You will give speeches nobody will listen to and present arguments before committees which will be tossed aside. It can tear at your heart.

On the other hand, you might make it big. No greater thrill can come to you than knowing your subject. You get the attention from the floor or microphone and then have it said, "This guy or this girl knows what they are talking about."

"Give and take" and "concessions" are part of the legislative process. The press call it "wheeling and dealing" but to arrive at a consensus, there has to be compromise and barter, checks and balances, reasonable men and women finding the answers through exchange of opinions. The founding fathers established this Government for that purpose.

Some rigid people oppose this method but there is none better. Every worthwhile measure ever passed in here did so with each side giving a little for the common end.

You will be measured by your colleagues as a right or a wrong person. A favorite expression in here is "He or she is flaky." You will hear that a thousand times and it might be applied to you. Personally, I think it is overworked.

No matter what, you will have bills for your district. The folks back home will expect you to get them through. Selectmen and mayors particularly are uncompromising whenever they want a bill. You may have to trade votes to get them. Horsetrade as it were and even down to begging. Total snob-nosed independence is a fine thing. It reads good in your political ads but when your town wants an important piece of legislation, you better be able to get it through and that takes either the Speaker, the committee chairman or enough of your colleagues to win the vote. You get them today and they get you tomorrow.

Like a lot of others, you will spend a great deal of time with your colleagues during those interminable recesses in criticizing the governor, whoever he may be. It's an ongoing game. He will never make the right appointment, will give you no favors. His palace guard is indifferent and non-communicative. If you helped him get elected and are brushed off--and it happens all too often--your fury will know no bounds and all over the place those with long experience will tell you, "I've been all through it with those jokers in the corner office. They're all alike."

Some of the night sessions will weary your brain and you will go home and tell your wife or husband that the inmates are running the institution.

You will have ears for all the rumors and gossip that flies through the State House. Nothing escapes the rumor mill. You can talk to yourself in the mirror in the men's or lady's room and it will be all over the State House in 15 minutes and in the Globe the next morning.

In the House and in the Senate you will act as an umpire making decisions. Half the time you won't know or care what the decisions are about only that you will have to vote when the roll is called. There are only two choices, "Yes" or "No" and never maybe. In the House, the roll calls can go over 500 and in the Senate, over 300 and that's your record and it will follow you to the grave and often haunt you out on the campaign trail. So be careful of the guy who says, "Hey, how about giving me a vote on this issue." He won't be around those cold, wet October nights when you're going house to house trying to get re-elected.

The House and Senate are cauldrons of decisions often tough and momentous. When your service here is ended, you will have enough yarns and stories to last the rest of your life.

Some of the decisions you will be required to make are pica-yune, others are important. We may pass an 8-billion dollar budget in a few hours and debate a whole day on a cat and dog bill. It will puzzle you.

You will see colleagues who can talk a dog off a butcher wagon and you will listen to others who couldn't convince anyone that December 25th is Christmas---mere demagogues.

You will also listen to thoughtful, meaningful, dedicated men and women who love this process and really want to do good for the common end. Listen to them I say.

You will learn that it is always open season on the Legislature. Take it in stride. You are a politician now no matter what you prefer to call it. You are included in all the nasty things the press say about us to which I say, do your part to improve the image.

Many candidates come to this place riding a wave of condemnation of the General Court. It is a haven for crooks, robbers barons, morons, venal lobbyists, incompetents and what not. Admittedly we have had our share of bad apples and lemons but remember the people, by their votes, sent them here. Their's was the poor judgement in the first place.

Since the beginning, more than 40,000 different individuals have served in the Legislature. It is a very exclusive club and 10 times as many good legislators have served here as bad and I'll bet even more than 10 times. Believe me some good citizens have served here but only the bad get the press.

There are only 200 of us out of six million people and that's a pretty exclusive organization and a hell of a lot of responsibility and trust.

Coming in here as a freshman, you're as good as anyone else. This continuing mix of the old and the new is what has given the Legislature its flavor over the years.

This seminar is a great thing. When Maurice Donahue and I came here many years ago, it was every man for himself. Nobody told you anything. No desks, no chairs, no offices, no filing cabinets, no staff, no typewriters, no secretaries, nothing but you and your office under your hat and long lines at the phone booths in the House and Senate lobbies. The only thing they gave you was an inkwell on your desk. The last 10 years or so has changed all that thanks to some courageous decisions made by people who preceded you in this Legislature and who got their brains splattered for daring to suggest that a legislator should have some amenities and trappings of office which now benefit you as a newcomer.

Through these panels, the members want to tell you what to expect and what you should do to become a good legislator. It is not talking down to you. It is only advice as they see it. They want to help.

My bit of advice is this:

Learn the rules.

If you don't, they will take off your socks without removing your shoes.

Don't be a tin horn orator.

If you have something to say, say it. Be sure of your facts.

Do your homework.

The highest accolade that can be bestowed upon you is that you do your homework. Whenever you hear that said of a colleague, respect him or her.

Take care of your constituents.

At all costs,

Answer your mail.

Many years ago a freshman legislator asked a veteran House member what he should do to get re-elected. Promptly, the elder said, "Answer your mail." It's the way you handle your mail that determines your re-election.

Lastly:

Keep your word.

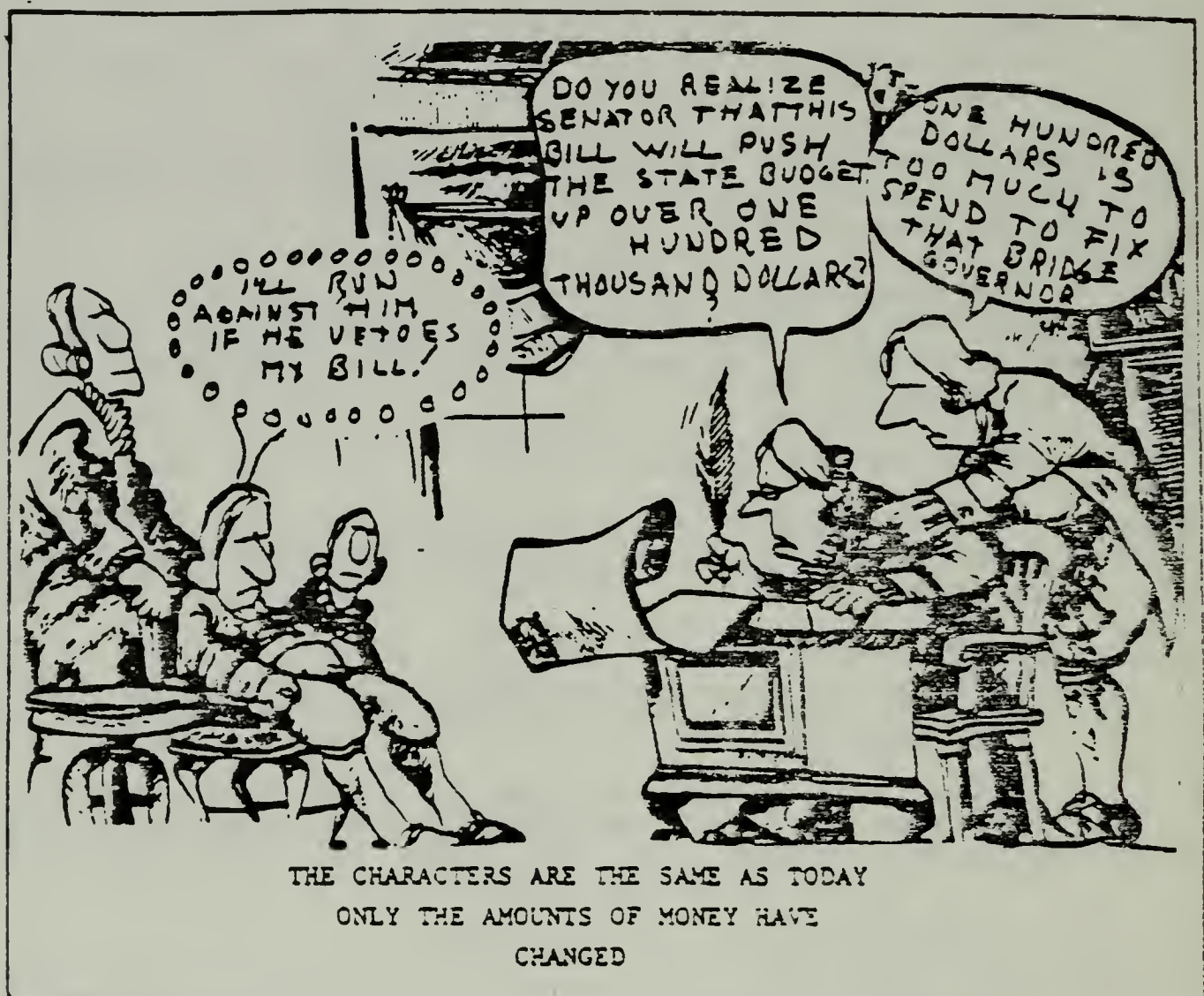
Don't give your word to every Tom, Dick, Harry and Jane who comes along. Your vote is precious and it is the only real record of your actions on the Hill so don't let some fast-talking colleague romance you to help his cause unless you understand it.

Once you give your word, stick with it or have a good reason to change. Don't put yourself in anybody's back pocket or in the tank as they say. Don't become part of the what's my vote crowd.

As a final note, permit me to say that a person with bright ideas and energy can see his or her brainchild enacted into law. It is a great feeling to stand beside the governor and watch him sign your bill. That's what it is all about.

There are a lot of new frontiers out there, new challenges and an ever-increasing need for legislative brain power and dedication.

You are here as a member of the General Court to do your share to make Massachusetts a better state. Use your conscience, your knowledge, character and initiative to that end.



MADNESS ON BEACON HILL



There is a stock joke around Beacon Hill that the State Legislature is the only institution in the Commonwealth being run by the inmates.

This age-old statement was never truer than the events leading up to prorogation of the Legislature on the morning of July 5, 1980 at the hour of 7:16 a.m. after a 41-hour marathon session - a session that drained the strength of countless legislators, left many others totally groggy, others packing up in frustration and disgust and bills slipping through without benefit of calendar, protest or explanation.

In the final hours of prorogation some 200 bills went through to Governor King's desk, with only a handful of legislators aware of what was going on. Exhaustion was the prevailing philosophy as a week-long all-night madness set in unlike anything ever before witnessed in the 200-year history of the General Court.

The madness on Beacon Hill may well have started in early June when the House in two all-night sessions rammed through a \$6 billion dollar budget. The Senate followed suit with a 21-hour non-stop budget session, which ran all day and far into the morning hours until the budget was passed.

The real madness began on Monday, June 30th. The Senate opened its session at 1 p.m. as usual. Bills started to reach the rostrum from Ways and Means and other committees. The smell of prorogation was in the air - but most legislators had no idea it would take 5-straight all-night sessions to finally prorogue the General Court - an all-time record.

This is what happened.

MONDAY	June 30-	Senate opens 1 p.m. through the afternoon and all night until 3:45 a.m. Tuesday morning July 1, the Senate worked almost 15 hours.
TUESDAY	July 1 -	Senate opens at 3 p.m. through the afternoon and all night until 4:18 a.m. Wednesday morning July 2, the Senate worked 13 1/2 hours.
WEDNESDAY	July 2 -	Senate opens at 4 p.m. through the afternoon and all night until 3:28 a.m. Thursday morning July 3, the Senate worked 11 1/2 hours.
THURSDAY	July 3 -	Senate opens at 2 p.m. through the afternoon into the night, into Friday July 4,
FRIDAY	July 4	all day into the night until 7:16 a.m.
SATURDAY	July 5	in the morning hours of Saturday July 5, the Senate worked 41 consecutive hours to prorogation.

During this incredible stretch of days and hours it was impossible for concerned legislators to follow the procedures as a flood of legislation came from every direction and close to 200 measures were passed in one week as against 350 bills in the previous 6 months.

THE SENATE AND HOUSE

(BY AN OBSERVER)

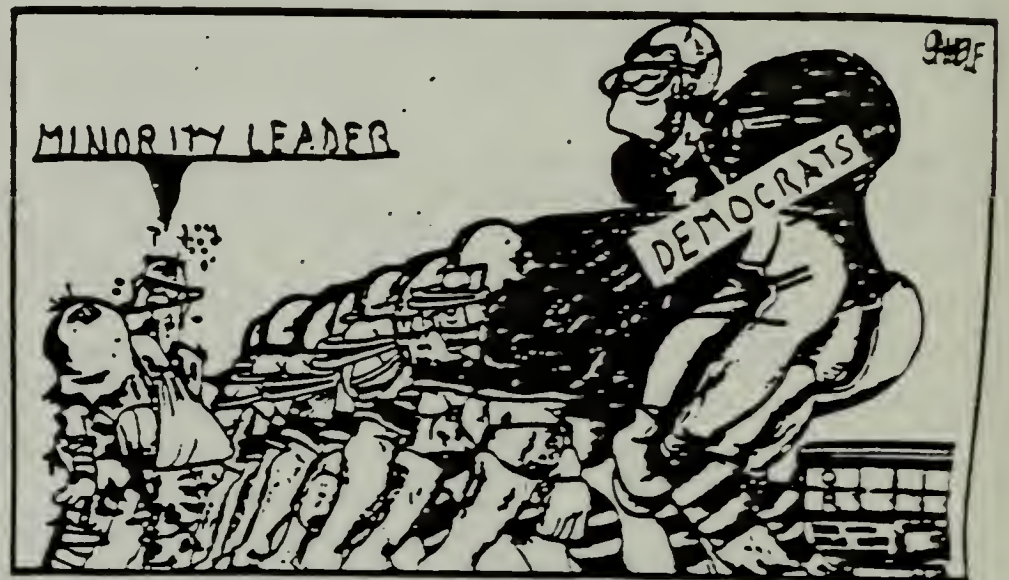
Thousands of legislative bills appear on the daily calendars in both the House and Senate. House bills in 1983 totalled 5,843. In the Senate 1,812 were filed. Many of these measures, such as the budget, Capital Outlay, Housing package and any number of proposals on the environment, municipal problems, social measures, business, labor, education, banks, taxes, etc., are challenged in debate as to their cost to taxpayers, their social worth or their benefits for one special interest group as against another.

Someone has to watch the legislation, check its merits and debate it if there is a question as to its aims and purposes.

In both the House and Senate this task is part of the responsibility of House Republican Floor Leader William Robinson and in the Senate, Republican Floor Leader John F. Parker.

Both of these men are skilled debators and argue effectively against legislation detrimental to public good. A budget debate will extend 22-24 non-stop hours only because Robinson and Parker and their aides challenge the 7 Billion dollar figures. In other cases of costly special interest legislation the minority has shown up the flaws and compelled the majority to accept amendments or set the legislation aside, which they often do.

There is little romance to being the watch-dogs, but 7 Republican Senators and 29 House members do it very well. The press and the social technocrats love the spenders and the minority has little chance to turn the tide when the issue is to enlarge the state budget beyond reasonable means.



On the Senate floor in 1983 there were 227 recorded roll call votes. The House tallied 614 roll calls. All of this is important to the citizens and taxpayers to know HOW their legislator voted on certain measures.

Had it not been for the arguments presented in debate by Republicans in both branches there very well might have been no contentious roll calls to speak of.

In the Senate the 7-member Republican minority generated 56% of the roll calls where debate was involved to only 44% requested by 33 Democrats. House figures run to similar percentages as the 29 Republicans forced "Right-of-the-People-to-Know" how their elected officials had voted on specific issues.

The role of the minority is difficult, but the minority leaders have almost an impossible task. They face an overwhelming majority, but do a remarkable job - not many personal scores, but stopping the majority from overloading the scoreboard.

THE LEGISLATOR'S DILEMMAS

If he's a good party man, he's sold his soul.	If he spends a lot of time with the leaders, he's a back slapper.	If he defends the Governor's program, he's disloyal to the Legislature.
If he doesn't vote with the party, he has no sense of loyalty.	If he's never with the leader, he's on his way out.	If he never sees the Governor, he has no political clout.
If he's available to his constituents, he has time to spare.	If he votes according to constituent polls, he lacks leadership.	If he works on a day-to-day basis, he lacks foresight.
If he's too busy to see the folks, he better beware.	If he votes according to his conscience, he doesn't care about the people back home.	If he has long-range plans, he's a day dreamer.
If he debates often, he's a loud mouth.	If he attends party conferences, he's an eager beaver.	If he is wealthy, he lacks the common touch.
If he seldom speaks out, he hasn't had a thought in years.	If he doesn't attend party conferences, he's not a team worker.	If he has no money, he's a schnook!
If he makes decisions quickly, he's arbitrary.	If he tries to do all the work himself, he doesn't trust anybody.	If he tries to hire staff assistants, he's an empire builder.
If he doesn't have an immediate answer, he can't make up his mind.	If he delegates as much as possible, he's incompetent.	If he doesn't seek more employees, he's a slave driver.
If he's in the Majority, he's arrogant.	If he has lunch in expensive restaurants, he's putting on the dog.	If he takes his briefcase home, he's trying to impress his colleagues.
If he's in the Minority, he chose the wrong party.	If he eats his lunch in his office, he's a cheapskate.	If he leaves the office without any homework, he doesn't care a damn.
If he goes to conventions, he's on the gravy train.	If he's program minded, he's a lousy politician.	If he writes pieces like this, he's neglecting his work.
If he never makes a trip, he's not important.	If he's politically minded, he has no feeling for the issues.	If he has never written an article, he hasn't had a thought in twenty years.
If his office is running smoothly, he's a dictator.		If he enjoys reading this, he's facetious.
If his office is a mess, he's a poor administrator.		If he doesn't think it's funny — he is entitled to his opinion.

INCUMBENT IT IS

Any politician worth his or her salt should know that politics is a fickle game. There is no annointment for any position. Below is listed a number of commonly held incumbent fallacies which can trap any politicians who feel the people will love them forever:

1. Oh, everybody loves me.
2. We never start campaigning 'till Labor Day.
3. Oh, the person I'm running against is just a kid.
4. Oh, I never have any trouble raising money.
5. This guy isn't going anywhere and I'm not spending a dime.
6. I don't believe in direct mail.
7. I don't go door to door. I did that last year.
8. My friends will turn out. (?)
9. I did so many favors they all will turn out for me. (They won't)
10. Issues aren't important.
11. The young people don't vote.
12. That's my home area. I don't need to campaign there.
13. Bumper stickers and signs are a waste of money.
14. This campaign is different--we won't use volunteers.
15. We're going to run it the same way we did last time.
16. I'm doing a good job at the State House and the people know it (??)
17. I never ask people to vote for me---they get offended.

Anno Regni Regis GEORGII, Sexto.

Lotteries.



Acts and Laws

Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*: Begun & Held at *Boston* upon Wednesday the Twenty-seventh of *May*, 1719.

An Act for the Suppressing of Lotteries.

WHEREAS there have been lately set up within this Province certain Mischievous and Unlawful Games, called Lotteries, whereby the Children and Servants of several Gentlemen, Merchants and Traders, and other unwary People have been drawn into a vain and foolish Expence of Money; Which tends to the utter Ruine and Impoverishment of many Families, and is to the Reproach of this Government, and against the Common Good, Trade, Welfare and Peace of the Province.

Preamble.

For Remedy whereof:

Be it Enacted, Adjudged and Declared, and it is hereby Enacted, Adjudged and Declared by His Excellency the Governour, Council, and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That all such Lotteries, and all other Lotteries are Common and Publick Nufances.

Lotteries a Publick Nufance.

And it is further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That from and after the Publication of this Act, No Person or Persons whatsoever shall Publickly or Privately exercise, keep open, show or expose to be plaid at, drawn at, or thrown at, or shall draw, play or throw at, any such Lottery, or any other Lottery, either by Dice, Lots, Cards, Balls, or any other Numbers or Figures, or any other Way whatsoever: And every Person or Persons that shall after the Publication of this Act, as aforesaid, exercise, expose, open or show to be played, thrown or drawn at any such Lottery, Play or Device, or other Lottery, shall forfeit for every such Offence the Sum of *Two Hundred Pounds*, to be recovered by Information, Bill, Plaint or Action at Law, in any of His Majesty's Courts of Record within this Province, wherein no Essoign, Protection, or Wager of Law shall be allowed: One half thereof to be the Kings Majesty, to be applied towards the Support of this Government, and the other half to him or them that shall inform and sue for the same.

/. 200 Forfeiture for Setting up Lotteries.



Christmas At The State House 1983



It's Christmas time at the State House, high on Beacon Hill.
Where into December the Legislature was in session still.
Bills and more Bills, Resolves and Memorials galore,
Filled the hoppers to overflowing; never to reach the floor.

It all started months ago, back at the beginning of the year,
10,000 bills, some good, some bad, clogging every gear.
The hopes of Special Interests rode on each bill's test,
Something for nothing or what the committee thought best.

Amend, postpone, re-commit, third reading, or on the table lay,
Slowed down the legislative process, causing weeks of delay.
It's fun and games for those members who daily split the air,
Orating to empty chambers, colleagues driven out in despair.

The crossfire of debate no longer is a way of State House life.
Now it's denouncing the leadership, the center of the strife.
Strange coalitions band together, of every shape and creed,
Intent upon rules reform, no matter the urgent need.

Speaker McGee met the enemy, in the violent battle for power.
He won with colors tattered and nearly lost his tower.
It was the age-old struggle: the "outs" wanting to get "in,"
But Tommy held his ground, and Keverian must begin again.

Through all the verbal slugging, legislation was set aside.
Even the Santa Claus bills were not given their usual ride.
"Stop the tyranny of the Speaker," the mavericks loudly boomed.
The loyalists rose against them; the uprising was doomed.

In the Senate it's the same old weary, dreary, endless game.
Special bills, local bills and others no one can explain.
Daily calendars flooded with the wildest of schemes,
If they all passed the Treasury would split its seams.

The members pressed Chairman Atkins and President Bulger too,
Hoping against hope to get a favorite bill on through.
They anxiously sought approval: the agreeable nod of the head
Which assured them officially the bill is far from dead.

The reformers went to work to change the Senate rules,
Hoping to relieve President Bulger of some of his tools.
But Bulger stood firm, asking his colleagues to hear,
"We'll send them to a committee, to report next year."

In the Executive office Gov. Mike sits confident and well,
After four years in exile, to get back in was swell.
No longer the scrooge of the first term fights and rifts,
The Duke now matches Santa Claus in handing out the gifts.

The snowflakes flutter softly down on the Golden Dome,
Where if you're on the right side, you'll surely be home.
It's been that way from John Hancock to the present day,
To the victor go the spoils—and the Duke's gone that way.

As the Beacon Hill carollers were singing on the street below,
Gov. Mike slipped into his coat and prepared to go.
He strode from his office, feeling satisfied deep inside,
After all, how many retreads successfully buck the tide?

The secretaries crowded near to enjoy their temporary fame.
They heard Governor Dukakis with a broad smile exclaim,
"Merry Christmas to the coalitions, I hold them so very dear.
Santa or no Santa, without THEM, I wouldn't be here."

Senator John F. Parker
Republican Floor Leader
Massachusetts Senate



Christmas at the State House 1984



'Tis the 12th month of the Christmas under the Golden Dome,
And the place is bogged down in a political syndrome.
The struggle is for the Speakership and the things one can do.
McGee had it for nine years; George wants to start with two.

Keverian has the votes, so he, hand-on-heart will bet,
But Marine Gunner McGee says he ain't seen nothin' yet.
They jockey and cajole and put on their best front,
"Stuck with me," or "Be with me," then they make the count.

They're two wonderful guys; once the best of friends,
George carried Tommy's water and would go to any end.
He moved members and the bills whenever the legislative need,
and "be true to the Speaker" was Big George's daily creed.

However it came about, may never be truly and fully known,
But George understood McGee was ready to pack and go home.
The gleam in George's eye would make even Santa Claus grin,
Visions of the Speakership put George right in the swim.

No sooner had he moved than Keverian was called in,
McGee changed his mind: "Sorry, George, but I'm going again."
Now the fat was in the fire; no reflection of course,
But George wouldn't back off; things started to get worse.

The battle has been joined; no holds have been barred,
And when it's all over, the old House will be charred.
Every decision that is made has, as its important end,
Who will vote for who, and who can bend?

The Press is onto the act, prancing and dancing with glee.
And many Ivory Tower editorialists are dumping on McGee.
Others come to the defense of the feisty little guy,
And really admire his spunk, not to roll over and die.

But no matter the outcome: the McGee vs. Keverian game,
Conditions in the House Chamber will never be the same.
It will be the back row for those who went the other way,
Where they will simmer and plot and wait for their day.

The struggle for the Speakership is as old as Santa's deer,
It was, is, and will be, who gets what, when and where.
If you're in you're in and if you're out you're out.
That's the State House game back to John Adams the stout.

In the meantime, because of the Speaker's bitter fight,
Most legislation has been stymied; no direction in sight.
It's like the Mexican Army, Generals and Colonels one and all.
Everyone's in charge and leadership not a popular call.

In the Senate, it's very slow and quiet as a mouse.
Not much has been stirring to compare with the House.
President Bulger is administering his colleagues quite well,
Despite rules reformers who demand, threaten and yell.

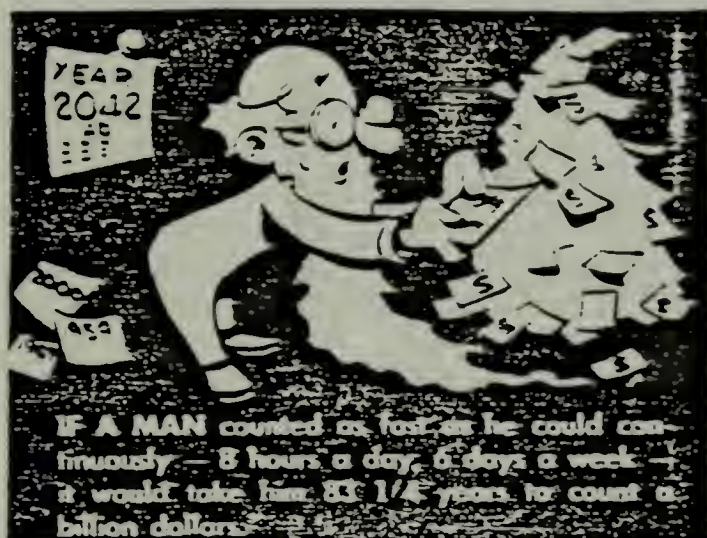
In the corner office sits self-assured Governor Mike,
Fresh from his losing battle to give Reagan the spike.
He pores over figures and the facts come up quite true,
If it wasn't for Reaganomics, Mike would be in a stew.

As the moon hides in the clouds and snowflakes flutter down,
Santa takes stock of conditions and musters a weary frown.
He shoulders his bag of goodies, for all under the Dome,
Grunting to himself, "Why don't they prorogue and go home."

It seems that will not happen, for the syndrome has set in,
Postpone, delay and table is the agenda as each day begins,
And the wish of those who struggle to do the work each day,
Is simply to ask Santa for a rule to find a better way.

— Senator John F. Parker
Republican Floor Leader
Massachusetts State Senate

How Big Is A Billion Dollars?

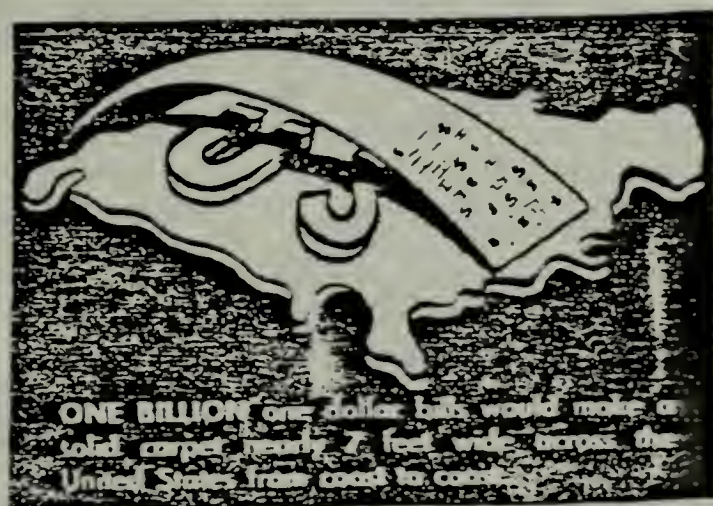


LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY IS MANY THINGS, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS CONCERN FOR THE APPROPRIATIONS WHICH FUEL THE ENGINES OF GOVERNMENT.

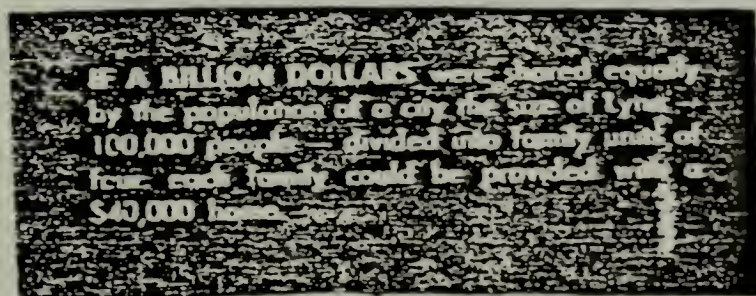
NEW LEGISLATORS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF LONG TENURE, MUST BECOME AWARE OF THE INCREDIBLE EXPLOSION IN COMMONWEALTH SPENDING WHICH HAS NOW BALLOONED AT ALMOST 9 BILLION DOLLARS.

SOME 40 YEARS AGO THE STATE BUDGET WAS WELL UNDER \$200 MILLION DOLLARS AND COMPACT AND SIMPLE TO UNDERSTAND.

THE EXPANSIONS OF THE PAST 40 YEARS HAVE SKY-ROCKETED STATE BUDGETS TO HEIGHTS NEVER DREAMED OF BY EARLY HOUSE AND SENATE MEMBERS.



WHEN THE BUDGET HIT 1 BILLION DOLLARS IN LATE 1960'S, MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENS WERE APPALLED. NOW, AT CLOSE TO 9 BILLION DOLLARS AND RISING, NEW AND OLDER LEGISLATORS SHOULD CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH THE MEANING OF WHAT A BILLION DOLLARS REALLY IS.



It's really simple...

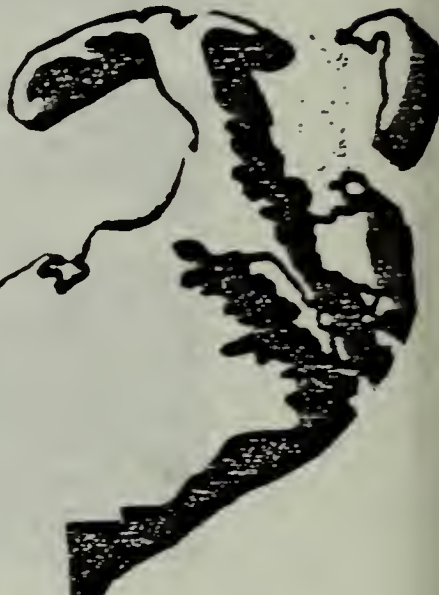
"WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT

GROUP HOMES, PRISONS, LOW
INCOME HOUSING, RETARDATION
FACILITIES, HAZARDOUS WASTE,
CONDOMINIUMS, HIGHWAYS, ETC. ETC.

Massachusetts

"PUT THEM

OVER THERE!"



Reform is such a clean word

Reform is such a nice clean word. How can anybody be against it. There is sex and romance to want to alter and change and to move into new areas. Ever since the passage of the Constitution various and sundry groups and militant individuals have cried "REFORM." It has been with us for hundreds of years.

Mention of the word "REFORM" always brings resistance and generally the resisters suffer condemnation no matter how right they are apt to be.

The typical reformer as Colonel Theodore Roosevelt once saw him, was an intensely earnest person, overflowing with honest enthusiasm, who demanded the end without the means, the whole without the parts and the reward without the effort. Many are eccentric and are vociferous and tend to dominate the public mind.

Reform is merely a synonym for improvement and a reformer is anyone who desires to make things better. In a world where none of the people are wholly satisfied with the world as it is, reformers have a ready market for there is no man on earth with soul so dead that he can discern no room for improvement.

If all reformers were to pass out of existence we could have no progress, for all political progress is by way of reform. Most people are idealists and are easy prey to the cry of reform and will join movements they know nothing about and applaud people whose words they cannot understand just because the impression is being given that things are wrong and a reform will make them right.

The mental process which the average reformer uses is simple enough. He begins by taking it for granted that he is right. Then it must follow as the night the day that if you differ from him you are wrong. That is the sum and substance of his premises and logic. And if you are wrong, there can be no compromise with error. The reformer, when he runs true to type, is not open to argument concerning the validity of his convictions. He will not barter away "his principles." The half loaf, to his way of thinking, is worse than no bread at all. As well ask him to dicker on the Golden Rule or the Ten Commandments.

This inclination to a hard and fast stand by reformers has often led to indefensible and extreme positions. Logic runs wild and in politics there is such a thing as being too logical. Politics is not an exact science like physics or mathematics. Two and two would make four in politics, to be sure; but in politics you do not deal with anything as definite as two and two---you deal altogether with variable and unknown quantities. The entire political structure is loaded down with imponderabilia.

A professor at Oxford University once said of logic that it is neither a science or an art---but only a dodge. A strict conformance to the rules of logic, no bending or compromising places individuals in either one of two categories: neophyte or demagogue.

President Woodrow Wilson once said, "Many an ardent and burdensome reformer would be put to better thinking if he were obliged to express his reform in the exact words of a workable statute or rule, and then be compelled to make his rule or statute work. Nothing is easier to make than an unworkable rule or statute."

The art of government is largely the art of adapting laws to the foibles of mankind and legislative rules to the practical and smooth operation of that body.

Legislative government is the art of managing large bodies of cantankerous, obstinate, fickle, ambitious, apathetic and emotional men and women and to move them through rules and pressure to frame laws that will have a public acceptability.

The reformer as a rule does not adequately visualize the actual workings of his proposal. Type it out as nice clean copy and it looks impressive and it is easy to find compatriots, who know absolutely nothing about the subject, to agree it is just the thing to straighten out a legislative body.

Most of our failures in the realm of government are due to human failure - be it naivete, blind ambition, insincerity, corruptability and other lapses in the human equation.

There are some governmental systems which are able to secure outstanding government because the people elect high-minded men and women to office. Other systems never achieve it no matter how frequently the reformers press their issues.

Some reformers are surgeons and some are physicians. Some believe that trouble can always be remedied by giving the patient a dose of medicine. Other reformers specialize in using the scalpel and the knife. They state the body politic needs major surgery.

Someone once remarked that every reformer desires to be a "star," and that every reform organization is an all-star cast.

Reformers, whether individual or collectively, try to arouse popular enthusiasm for their point of view. They take it for granted that the great body of the people are friendly to their interests. Reform is rarely sold to the wage-earner in his own language.

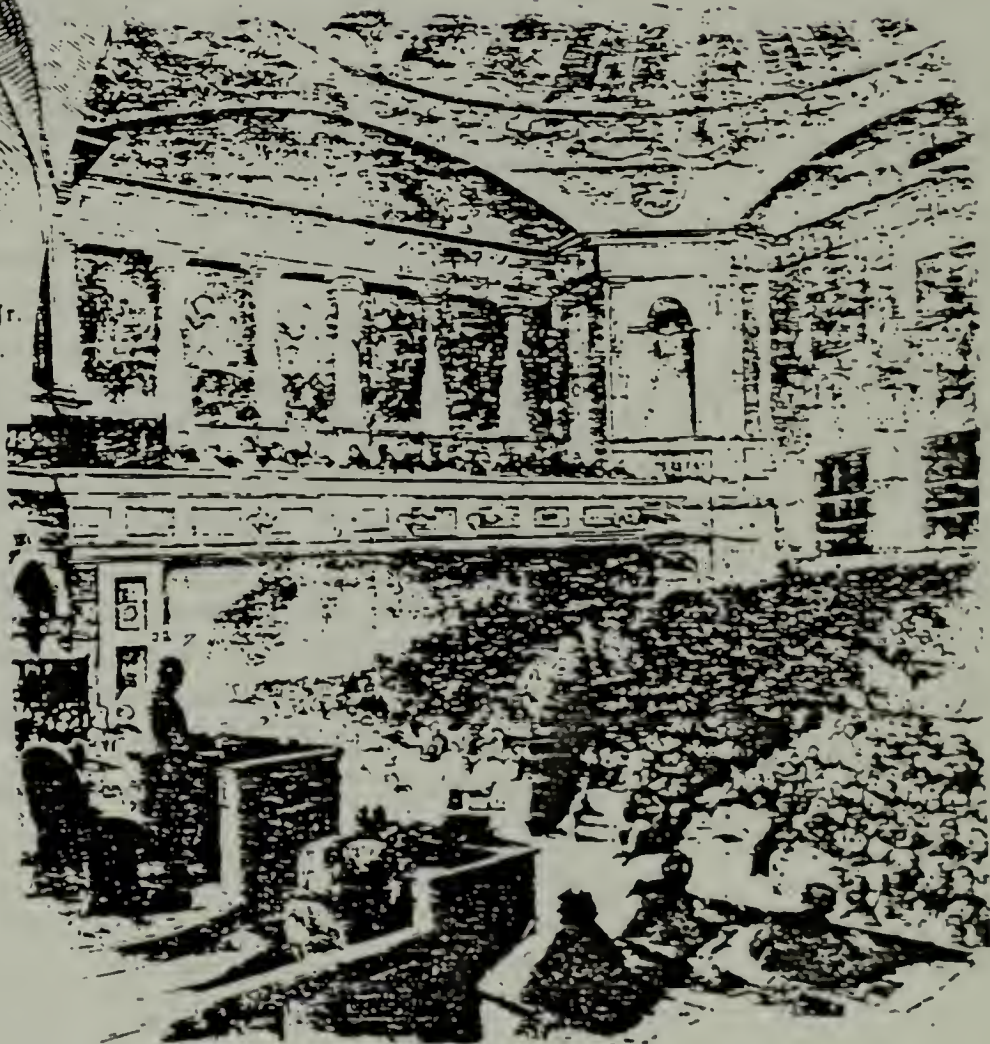
President Lowell of Harvard University once told a group of political scientists that the fields of reform are full of woodpeckers of all varieties. Their raucous songs are always pitched to "What this government needs..." and on they go into economy, efficiency, business men in office, taxes, corruption, voting, rules, party politics, patronage and a hundred other pursuits.

Dr. William Bennett Munroe of Harvard once observed in speaking of reform: "It is far better to bring about change by gradual stages than to insist on a comprehensive all-out plan to turn everything upside down and get nothing."

Reformers are good people and very often so are the people they try to reform.



NATHANIEL P. BANKS, Jr.
Born Jan. 30, 1815; died Sept. 1, 1894.
Speaker, 1851 — 1852.



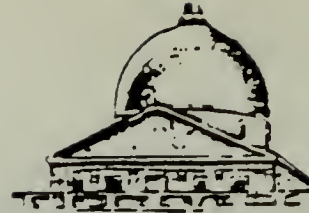
REPRESENTATIVES' HALL — January, 1856.
(Looking South.)

CHARLES A. PHELPS, Speaker

THE 1981 MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT

"....AT LAST

WE ADJOURN? PROROGUE? DISSOLVE?...."



The Massachusetts General Court has finally quit without doing a great deal about governing and the question is just what has it done over the past 12 months of 1981---other than being in session longer than any other legislative body in the United States.

WELL. . .

They have inundated the legislative hoppers with almost 10,000 bills and resolves---more than any other state except New York and California.

They have proposed legislative cures for nearly every human ill on earth under the philosophy that Massachusetts should be the first in the nation in everything, no matter the cost.

They got their come-uppance from the voters through Proposition 2 1/2 which cooled the fires and stopped the spenders cold.

They have assisted various lobbyists in the attainment of some of their most sought-after goals. They disappointed many others.

They have figeted and fretted at the oratorical windmills who have kept the House and Senate in session far into many nights.

They have leaned on the statue of old-time Governor Roger Walcott in the House lobby and have kept his big toe shiny.

They have aided the food and liquor tax account by consuming goodly quantities of both at the Golden Dome Pub, etc.

They have polished off hundreds of sandwiches from Paul Sutliff's 4th floor eatery.

They have digested a thousand rumors about everything and everybody.

They have worn a large number of flashy sports coats and shirts and have driven some nice cars, complaining about losing a number to Boston auto thieves.

They have ground out record numbers of press releases, overburdening every Xerox machine in the State House.

They have battled with more or less success with Governor King and Boston Mayor Kevin White.

They have spent incredible hours running errands for backhome constituents, knowing it is the meat and potatoes of legislative success.

They have sponsored a record number of fund raisers, hoping to beat off whatever opposition might arise.

They have spent hours debating the nickle and dime bills and ho-humming the 6 billion dollar state budget and other complicated measures.

They have enacted approximately 780 bills of high, low and medium quality and some of no quality whatsoever.

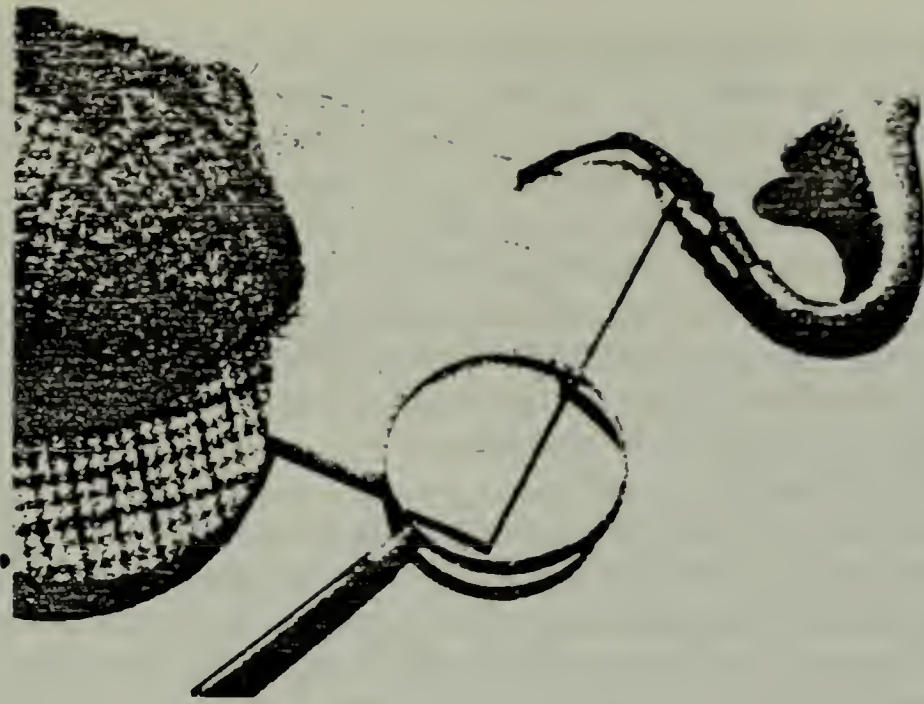
They have dutifully drawn their pay, expenses and mileage.

At the hour of dissolution after 12 dreary months there was only a handful of members in the House and Senate. The others had thrown in the towel long hours before, figuring all the damage had been done.

Their last words were, as the 1981 General Court dissolved now on January 5, 1982: "I'll see you tomorrow at the start of the session. I want to talk with you about a bill I have filed, etc., etc. . . ."

After one deep breath. . .away we go again full steam into the 1982 Legislative year.

-----Senator John F. Parker
Senate Minority Leader



In Search of the Perfect Legislature

JOHN F. PARKER*

* Republican Floor Leader of the Massachusetts Senate and its senior member, representing the First Bristol District, who read this paper at the May 1984 meeting.

POLL-TAKING and public opinion surveys are big now in the American way of life. There are literally hundreds of organizations which spend their time and both their own and the public's money to find out just how people feel on given subjects. The public opinion pollsters have taken the guesswork out of elections, public questions, and general attitudes toward many subjects. They tell us what we know before we know it.

Public opinion pollsters love nothing better than delving into citizens' attitudes on politics and politicians. They love that assignment and are caught up in it. Scarcely a week passes that some newspaper or television or radio station does not have some kind of poll going on the politics of the city, state, or nation.

Even academic institutions are into polls. The Public Affairs Research Center of Clark University, in Worcester, has been taking polls on public questions—taxes, housing, budgets, and a variety of other public concerns. These polls are revealing, interesting, and often surprising.

One of the recent surveys undertaken by the Clark Research Center focused on public confidence in various categories of public service. This statewide survey asked respondents to rate their confidence in eight different state and local public service groups. Local police registered the highest level of public confidence, followed by public schools, fire fighters, town meetings, and local city governments. Bringing up the rear as lowest in public esteem were the state legislators and the Democratic and Republican parties. Wouldn't you know? Only 13% of respondents had "A great deal of confidence" in the state legislature; only 10% had a similar regard for the Republican and Democratic parties.

Bad news like that really shatters you, especially if you are a legislator.

Up there on Beacon Hill we have a House of Representatives with

160 members and a Senate with 40 members, and only 13% of the people polled registered a "great deal of confidence" in them. You can't go much lower than that. And this despite the fact that members of the legislature now have more educational degrees than ever before in history. The legislature has staff (in some cases too much), nice offices, reasonable salaries, and amenities. Its members are generally eager, young, tenacious, and visible, and most of them will go halfway into hell to do a constituent a favor. This is a high-powered legislature with three times as many B.A.'s, M.A.'s, and Ph.D.'s, not to mention law degrees, as 50 years ago.

What went wrong?

Perhaps, I thought, the issues are tougher now, and the people are venting their wrath. Surely there was a time, in the lovable old hayseed days, when the people admired their legislature. Those were the days when the giants roamed Beacon Hill committee rooms and did the people's bidding on the floor. They were honored, respected, and praised from one end of the state to the other, and newspaper editorial writers canonized them with glowing accounts of their deeds on Beacon Hill.

And so, being of a historical bent, I began my search for that better time when the legislature was respected and all was well with the people and the press. They loved the men on Beacon Hill and all they stood for. The star of stars in the political firmament was the General Court. It was God's sanctuary.

Thoroughly disappointed in the Clark University poll, I was determined to find out when the legislature went wrong. After all, over these 200 years since the Massachusetts Constitution was adopted, more than 40,000 different individuals have served in the legislature, and the State House corridor walls are lined with portraits and photographs of legislative giants of another day.

There had to be a time of legislative greatness, there just had to be!

Quickly I went back in my research to 1959, just for starters, and checked out a talk which Representative Frank Perry, of Duxbury, gave at a Boston College seminar. Greatness apparently was not in his time. For Perry commented, "The roll call bell is facetiously referred to as the burglar alarm," and the legislature is called "the general store," meaning something for everybody. Perry then went on to state that the General Court was becoming filled with doorbell ringers, charmers, handshakers, and pretty faces, but not with statesmen.

Harsh words, to be sure, but then, 1959 wasn't so long ago. Why not turn back a few more years? So I went back to 1930 and found this observation in one of the metropolitan Boston newspapers: "The quality and calibre of the legislature has been on a steady decline . . . the people have no confidence in their Representatives on Beacon Hill."

Then I went back some more, to 1912, and picked up a piece of legislation which decreed that all legislators be forced to go back to school. The bill stated that "the defect of most legislators is their total ignorance of nearly all questions on which they must pass laws." Other callous references then to the legislature were that "It is the only institution in the Commonwealth which is run by the inmates" and "Massachusetts has the second largest legislative body in the United States . . . if all 280 legislators were laid end to end, it wouldn't be a bad idea."

Cruel and barbed, I'd say, but there it was, more than 70 years ago.

The *Boston Globe* in 1913 published a little joke about two elderly women sitting in the Senate gallery while a noisy debate was going on down on the Senate floor, arms were waving, Senators acting up, and all kinds of gavel pounding by the chair. Finally, the roll-call bell rang. One lady turned to the other and asked what the bell was for. The other lady explained it this way: "I think one of them escaped." Or how about the crack a certain editor wrote one day years ago: "If you have a half-wit in your community, place him in a mental institution. Don't duck the issue by electing him to the General Court." Another newspaper commented: "They may act like fools up there in Boston and they may look like fools, but don't be deceived, they really are fools." How those editors of 70 years ago loved to pound away at their legislators, one of them commenting, "The Massachusetts legislature is like an iceberg, ten per cent visible, ninety per cent submerged, and one hundred per cent at sea."

Right there I said, oh well, I've had enough of those old-time editors. They were just as bad as the modern ones. And anyway, this is the 20th century, and with all the wars, turmoil, depressions, unemployment, and what not, perhaps the press and the people just vented their wrath and anger on their elected legislators.

There just had to be a time of greatness, I told myself, and damn it, I'll find it.

Ah, I thought, how about 1895?

In that year, a brand new chamber for the House of Representatives was completed, and the Senate took over the old House chamber. It was a major change in the physical arrangements of the State House. Representative A. E. Roe, a distinguished veteran of 20 years in the House, was asked about the transition. He replied that the quality of the men in the General Court was far lower than when he was first elected in the 1870s. "They just don't make them great anymore," he said. "We had some good men in the old days."

There now, I sighed, finally I have found the time of giants, the 1870s, and eagerly I rifled through the pages to find those legislative statesmen and those giants. But the chronicler knocked me over with these words: "It is true that the legislature has ignorant, selfish persons of low tone and many are easily debauched. They are into everything, banks, corporations, railroads, insurance companies, and patronage. Some of them would steal a hot stove while others put their gloves on first."

Now, that's rough stuff, and, desperate to find that puritanical, good-old-days legislative body that must have existed in the long ago, I nervously flipped the pages back through the Civil War days, only to note such expressions as "venal," "half-wits," "fanatics," "creatures of corner grocery stores," "no knowledge of the science of government," and "many have an overpowering purpose and aim for office, and patronage." And on it went. In 1860, for example, when Henry D. Thoreau, the great Massachusetts writer, was on his way from his Concord home to buy a front door lock, someone told him the legislature was to meet that day in Concord. In that case, he is reported to have said, "I had better buy a lock for the back door also."

And on and on it went, first the search, then the incessant, pounding criticism ad nauseam. I came upon a poem well over 100 years old

of anonymous authorship appearing in a local Boston gazette. Here it is:

I know I have some legislators
Working for me at the State House,
For now and then they come around
To get my vote and hear me grouse.

They proudly shake me by the hand
And ask me about my needs
And then go to Boston
And do as they damn well please.

Whenever there's a bill for which
I'd like to have their votes
I trust in them and tell them so
By telegram, letter, and notes.

And every one they quickly answer
Carefully and without delay.
And when I see their roll call record
I find those dogs voted the other way.

So on I went, back down through the dusty years searching for that elusive word of praise for the legislature, that outpouring of affection. Heavens, I told myself, it *must* be there! Instead, I found only such remarks as "The present legislature does not exhibit the real character of the state" and "The best citizens do not run for office." (These comments date from the 1820s and 1830s.) "Damn it." I repeated, those legislative giants *have* to be there somewhere. The press and the people and other politicians must have found something complimentary to say about those who served on Beacon Hill.

Well, my whole search crumbled when I came upon these words attributed to old John Adams, father of the Massachusetts Constitution and second President of the United States: "A second flood, a simple famine, plagues of locusts everywhere. / A catastrophic earthquake, I'd accept those with some despair. / But, no Sir, you gave us the legislature / And good God, was that fair?"

So I have eaten up the whole 200 years, back to the Constitution of 1780. And mostly, it has always been the same: "that damnable legislature," that "zoo on Beacon Hill." It has been caricatured and assaulted, ridiculed and condemned, distrusted and abused, sneered at and charged with every vice known to man. It has been unable to command the respect of the people it tries so hard to please and serve. The Clark University poll—and any others—could have been taken 50 or 75 years ago, or 150 or even 200 years ago. and the results would have been the same. People are in love with individual legislators but have no faith in the legislature itself. They never have, and that's too bad.

And it's all wrong, and there must be a reason.

Here is a copy of the Boston *Real Paper* of sometime ago which lampoons 10 legislators, calling them the 10 dumbest legislators on Beacon Hill. Yet you will never read an article depicting the 10 smartest legislators at the State House. That's too dull.

Simply stated, the legislature is in the business of government and as such has been in operation longer than any other Massachusetts enterprise, just over 200 years, in modern form. The business of the legislature is to make decisions. These decisions are often hard and brutal and quite naturally affect people. their dreams, ambitions,

hopes, desires, and much else besides. These decisions can help or hurt, depending on which side you are on, and are based on the right of free petition, which allows any citizen or group of citizens to appeal to the legislature for almost anything. It is the court of last resort.

By the very nature of its structure the legislature is a negative operation. It wasn't designed to be loved. It must say "No" 10 times to every one time it says "Yes." That means that if we have 10,000 bills and petitions, and we do, we're going to kill more than 9,000 of them one way or another, or we would bankrupt the Commonwealth. The kill rate is tremendous. You have no idea what it is that groups and individuals and special interests demand from us. It is incredible. We've got to make a lot of cuts in budgets, and a lot of people get angry. People love benefits and hate taxes, and one cannot live without the other, as the present governor is finding out. I've heard it said a thousand times along State House corridors when a bill loses out on a roll-call vote, "Why, those pinheads, don't they know this is a good piece of legislation? We'll get those dogs at the next election." (There is some truth to the cliché that asks "What have you done for us lately?")

For all the hammering, there is a great deal of honest and sincere effort to grapple with the problems of the people, there really is. During these past 200 years, since the creation of the Commonwealth in 1780, the population of Massachusetts has grown from 300,000 people to almost 6,000,000. In that time span, wars, depressions, industrial and labor revolutions have waxed and waned. The horse and buggy and the stagecoach gave way to the railroad and the street-car. The former disappeared when the automobile and the airplane came along. Textiles and shoe manufacturing bloomed and died. Problems of mental and public health engulfed us. Then there are the poor, the wretched, the disabled, the sick, and the elderly, labor, industry, crime, prisons, environment, highways, living space, education, energy, waste disposal, and on and on into every phase of human need and want. No one is immune; there is no such thing as real and total independence.

The legislature was established to cope with the needs and wants of the people. Senate and House members are elected to represent their constituents' interests. And if they don't, voters have the right under our system not to reelect them. Nobody can lose a job faster than a legislator. The turnover is tremendous. Americans are an impatient people.

It is incredible how diverse are the interests of a legislative body. Its members represent every view under the sun. They come in all shades of intelligence, body shape, and point of view. The Massachusetts legislature is a melting pot that contains more than 50 trades, professions, and vocations, all of which must be welded into a force to advance legislation or to kill it. The rest of us must accept other voters' choices of General Court members, for that body is truly representative. It is required, although there are forces at work to dilute it, that power be great in the hands of the House Speaker and Senate President, not imperial or autocratic power, but power nevertheless, otherwise the legislature would collapse in anarchy.

When weakness or venality or defection from oath of office take over, the press is always there to exploit it and always has been. Temptation, bad judgment, and outright corruption have long his-

tories in legislative bodies, and men have paid a terrible price for wayward behavior. The press is relentless in this regard, and this is as it should be.

On the other hand, despite the low marks given legislative bodies, many, many people have devoted themselves to the public good. We never would have made it this far were that not so. They have weathered the criticism and have made government work, and the books are filled with good laws because of dedicated legislators' desires to do what is right. Indeed, there have been legislative giants in the Massachusetts General Court. But often they have become lost because of internal jealousies and denigration and external press sensationalism. Dignity and character, in short, describe a lot of people on Beacon Hill, both Democrats and Republicans.

We have had our failures, to be sure, and our bad apples, as has every legislative body or business enterprise. Among 40,000 legislators over 200 years it was bound to happen. But the price of breaking the code of ethics and personal conduct is extremely high in public life. The searchlight of the press is always there, and the newspapers hit the streets every day.

Yes, a look inside the Massachusetts legislature will reveal many things. Men and women making hard decisions, in between all kinds of back-home pressures. Always searching for answers, constantly misrepresented, operating in an atmosphere of suspicion and doubt, but doing what they want to do at this time of their lives. Giving a piece of themselves to help make the quality of life better for others. True, the people expect perfection, and we as their public servants have to go along with that. And true, the people come down hard against pay-raise measures for legislators, as evidenced by the nine to one defeat of the pay-raise bill that was on the ballot a couple of years ago.

But as for perfection, oldtime legislator Representative Francis Keane summed it up many years ago. "The people demand perfection," said Keane, "in their public servants." But, he added, "Human is human, they won't find perfection in their homes or families or their places of business or in their community and if they really want perfection, they've got to go to heaven, to that great legislature in the sky. And even that has been gerrymandered, for only the good can serve." But permit me to say that we can't give up. We've got to try harder. Perfection is an elusive goal, but we've still got to strive for it, maybe even fail and try again, for the search for perfection never ends. And it comes when people take time to understand and are willing to become involved. Such are the keys to the survival of us all. I ask you not to be like the lady at a meeting I once attended. When the treasurer reported that the organization was going to end the year with a deficit of \$24.80, this woman stood up in the back row and said, "I move we donate it to the Salvation Army."

Fewer and fewer people want to get involved. In the last statewide election in Massachusetts, 22 Senate seats were unopposed and 104 House seats were unopposed. And this year I understand that in some communities there are hardly enough people to run for school committees and city councils. Over the past few years the old "I-don't-want-to-get-involved" syndrome has permeated our society. This reminds me of the story of the jogger who was hit by an automobile

and knocked 40 feet into the air. Both of his legs were broken, and he was all cuts and bruises. The police and the ambulance arrived. Nobody could find the injured jogger. Finally a police officer saw this form crawling down the road and ran after him, shouting, "Hey, Mister, you just had a terrible accident. Where are you going?" The victim said simply: "Hey, I don't want to get involved."

Let me say this in closing. If we don't get involved, we might lose all. Government is too important an institution to be left in the hands of those who do not seek perfection, elusive as it may be.

Contradictions of Legislative Life



State legislatures have made more progress in the past 20 years than any other political institution. Yet, due to inherent contradictions, legislatures are in trouble.

Alan Rosenthal

Alan Rosenthal, a student of state legislatures, is director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University.

Legislatures do not make sense to the logical mind. The reason is not that they are mystical bodies but that there are many contradictions in legislative life.

The contradictions, however, do make sense, but understanding them takes a little effort. Here are eight legislative contradictions, chosen almost at random:

■ **The better things seem, the worse they are.** Legislatures are in good shape today, although reading the newspapers or listening to Common Cause would not necessarily lead to this conclusion.

Since the reapportionment revolution of the 1960s, state legislatures have made remarkable progress in improving their performance. Legislators are spending more time on the job. Their organization is stronger, and their standing committees are the workhorses they were intended to be. Most legislatures are staffed adequately, and some more than adequately. They have access to information from several sources and make use of them.

Partly because of this increased capacity, legislatures are performing better than ever. They serve not only as arenas for policy deliberation and decision making but also for policy initiation, not always waiting for the governor's lead. Legislators are reviewing budgets and appropriating monies more diligently. They have also begun to exercise oversight, to determine how efficiently policies and programs are administered and how effectively they work.

This assessment is not bad for an institution that has been called "a most extreme example of institutional lag." Indeed, state legislatures have progressed more in the past 20 years than any other American political institution.

Yet, legislatures are in trouble. The problems they face are intractable — economic stagnation or deterioration, unemployment, declining federal aid, taxpayer resistance, decaying infrastructure, for example. Meanwhile, their members are pulled and pushed and pressured by new and old interest groups and by PACs of every size and shape. (Legislators must feel that there is a "PACs" on both their houses.) Turnover of members is high (although not as high as before), and length of tenure is low (few legislators serve longer than 10 years — some run for higher offices, others get fed up and go home, and some lose in primary and general elections). Discontinuity and instability are the order of the day.

What would the current picture be if legislatures had gotten worse

these past few years instead of getting better?

■ **The larger legislative staffs are, the more work there is for legislators.** Perhaps more than anything else, professional staffing has transformed the legislature as an institution. But not precisely the way many people expected.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, citizen reformers and legislators themselves advocated staffing legislatures with professionals. One argument was that staff would reduce the burdens on legislators, decreasing the amount of their work and allowing them more time for nonlegislative pursuits.

Quite the opposite has happened, however. Hiring staff has increased legislators' workload. A good staffer is motivated and wants to distinguish himself (and more and more, herself) to get ahead. He seeks out problems, devises legislative solutions, and confronts legislators (whether leaders, committee chairmen, or rank-and-file members) with agendas for action. How can they resist? The result is more bills introduced, more laws enacted, more work for everyone.

■ **The more representative legislatures become, the fewer 'citizen legislators' remain as members.** Today, as in the past, legislatures are by no means "representative" of citizens in terms of the socioeconomic characteristics of their members. Legislators generally have more — more years, education, occupational status, income, and wealth — than the people they represent.

In other respects, however, legislatures are more representative today than they used to be. Hispanics are being elected in states with significant Hispanic populations, and blacks in districts with large black populations. Women have made the largest gains — from 4 percent of the nation's legislators in the early 1970s to 13 percent now.

Accompanying these gains is the decline of the "citizen legislator." The citizen legislator has another occupa-

tion or substantial interests outside the legislature. Not dependent on politics for his livelihood or equanimity, he wants to devote as much time as possible to his occupation and other pursuits. Generally, the citizen legislator is someone who has "made it" — an attorney, businessman, or rancher, for example. (The "professional legislator," by contrast, is "on the make" — as a politician and public-office seeker).

There are several reasons why citizen legislators are being forced out (the proportion of lawyers in the nation's legislatures has declined from 30 percent years ago to 20 percent today). These reasons include demands for more of their time, conflict-of-interest and disclosure requirements, and the no-holds-barred competition from professional politicians who want their seats.

■ **The more independent legislators become, the more dependent they are on interest groups and PACs for support and cues.** The new breed of legislators is independent, some of them compulsively so. Ties to party have diminished as well as party loyalties. These independents are not inclined to serve as apprentices; they are eager to achieve and get ahead. Not willing to follow their leader, they prefer to think and decide for themselves.

But lawmakers who exercise independence within legislatures probably are more beholden outside. There are the ties to constituents, the claims of interest groups, and the purses of PACs. The more legislators want to continue holding office or advance to others (i.e., the stronger their addiction to political life), the less independent they really are.

■ **The less important the policy or program, the more time legislatures will spend debating it.** This observation is not new; it has appeared in a somewhat different form: "The time spent on any item of the agenda will be in inverse proportion to the sum involved" (1957, *Parkinson's Law*).

This law of triviality, which Parkinson explored in a committee con-

text, applies more generally to legislatures. Legislators try to finesse some of the larger issues, such as those involving education and human services, because they are difficult to unravel or politically charged or because money to solve the problems is lacking. It may be a no-win situation. Instead, legislators deal with relatively more trivial issues, even though they may not be worth the time.

■ **The more seriously legislatures take their oversight responsibilities, the more money they spend on certain programs.** One major objective of legislative oversight is to seek out programs that are not useful, eliminate them, and save state funds. What actually happens, however, is somewhat different. By means of performance auditing or program evaluation (which is underway in two-thirds or more of the states), legislatures find that the programs they scrutinize are indeed useful. Thus, they decide to strengthen them, and the result is that more, not less money is spent.

Nearly every program is useful, at least to someone and to some degree. The question should be whether it is as useful as an alternative way to spending the same amount of money, and whether any money is available to spend at all.

■ **The more open the legislative process, the fewer the people making critical decisions.** "Government in the sunshine" has flooded every state. Consequently, virtually every meeting of standing committees is open to the public in most places. In several states, party caucuses are open.

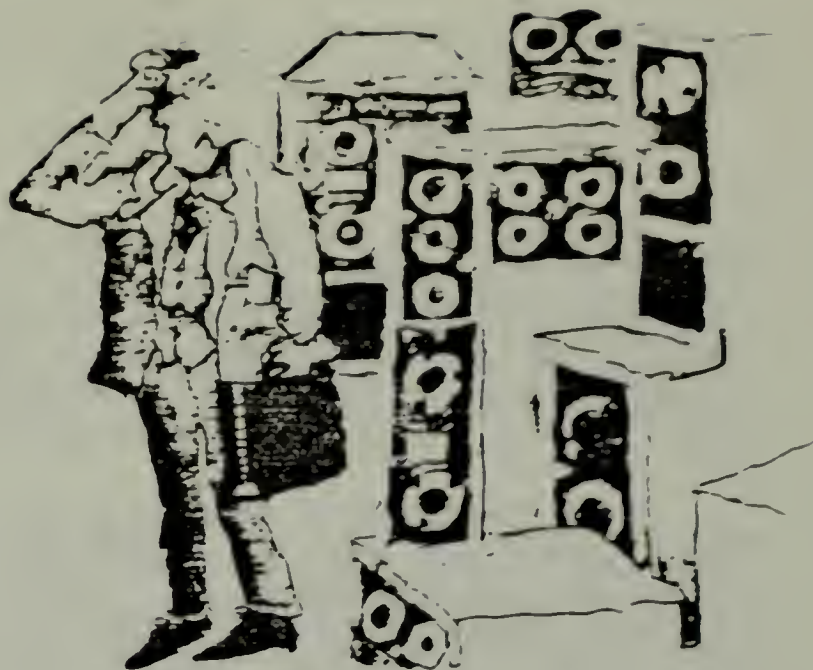
On those occasions when strategy is to be devised, when deals are to be struck, or when dirty laundry is to be aired, the presence of the public can be inhibiting. Legislators, therefore, resort to back rooms and come into committee or caucus with the details already worked out. Not every member of the committee or the caucus can fit into the back room, however. The result is that a few legislators make decisions in private and in public others ratify what has been decided.

?? A COMPUTERIZED GENERAL COURT ????

??? (THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE) ???

By Senator John F. Parker

In the long-ago years of political service on Beacon Hill, legislators were one-man organizations. They had no assistance of any consequence to write bills, respond to constituents, appear at committee hearings and do any of the myriad of tasks a legislator is called upon to perform.



Some years ago legislative staff appeared on the scene which has been of great help to the men and women who represent the people in the House and Senate.

Ponderous manual typewriters gave way to electric machines and on to word processors making it easy for legislators to respond to constituent letters or to generate puff mail. A few years ago the Xerox machine arrived and now there is scarcely a legislator who doesn't have a half-dozen files in his office filled with Xerox copies of everything.

The age of automation has come quickly. Both legislative branches now have computerized bill retrieval support and computer stations are available at various locations. Even legislative bills and reports in some cases are printed from computer tapes. In the House, television has intruded upon the sedentary lives of the members along with an automatic roll call machine.

Automation Wave of the Future

In fact, computerization is everywhere and throughout the state budget are line items for more computerization of departmental services. Even the treasurer's office issues legislative pay checks through its own computers. The day of the plodding departmental clerk is nearly over. The age of computers is upon us.

The trend is clear. Computers have taken over everything and it is only a short step to an automated and computerized State Legislature. What is now worrying legislators is that automation might well put them out of business. The foot-dragging and "Headless horseman" approach to legislative activities and the year-round sessions---the longest in the United States---may well compell the Citizens for Limited Taxation or other public interest groups to start petitions for signatures to place on the ballot a referenda question to abolish the Legislature and go for total automation.

Frustration has set in. Despite the League of Women Voters drive to cut the size of the House from 240 to 160 members and which was voted by the people in 1974, the entire legislative structure has now bogged down in a Sargasso sea. Ever since the House cut, it is well nigh impossible for the Legislature to prorogue and go home. In six

of the last 10 years, the General Court has been in session the entire 12 months, this despite the loss of 80 members which was billed as a way to get the business over and go home.

So total automation might well be the way to go.

Rumors are flying around the State House that Massachusetts might be the experimental state for just such automation because of its forever-and-a-day legislative record. Information has been leaked to the leadership that two state-of-the-art computers are being perfected on Route 128 which will be capable of performing most of the tasks now undertaken by legislators.

The leadership has only the barest details on the computers. They know they will be numbered GC-200 which is the exact number of House and Senate members. They know it is the brainchild of some Hi-Tech people who are sick and tired of being pushed around (so they say). They feel their problems and the interests of the taxpayers will be better served by automating and computerizing the General Court.

GC-200 Computer Will Pass Bill in Seconds

The word has it that the GC-200 computer will pass a bill in seconds without a lot of verbal mishmash. After the bill is coded on tape, it is then fed into the computer which can be set for a variety of political viewpoints including Democrat or Republican, Maverick, Administration, Labor, Management, Pressure Groups, Coalitions, etc. The computer can skillfully write, re-write or amend any bill so that it won't offend anybody.

The computer will be able to hold committee hearings. It will have a timing device set at several positions: Engross, Enact, Delay, Ought Not to Pass, Refer to Ways and Means, Hold in Third Reading, etc. There is also a setting which will allow the computer to sit on a bill from 45 days to six months and another setting to which the Speaker and President would have the only keys. Once set for the year, the computer would refuse to function after July 10, and the legislators would have no choice but to prorogue, for after that date the computer would not give its opinion on anything.

Computer Big Help at Budget Time

During budget time the House and Senate computers will pay for themselves. In the House, instead of almost three weeks of frustration and procrastination, grand-standing, etc., the computer will swallow the 800 floor amendments and spew them out under such titles as "ridiculous," "self-serving," "too costly," "Un-Constitutional," "favorable," "unfavorable," "lay on the table," "send back to committee," etc., and it will do it all in less than an hour.

The Senate also would be a piece of cake for the computer, for it would effectively dispose of 275-300 amendments in 25 minutes---or in less time than it now takes for two speeches and one roll call.

There will be no need for interminable quorum calls as the computer could care less who is in attendance. Just stuff in the software and away it will go and to hell with the demagogues. Let them eat cake.

All seats in both the Senate and House would be removed as no longer necessary. Legislators would work in their offices (which is where most of them want to be anyway). The computers would be set in place where the Senate and House rostrums are now located and engineered so that they would blend in with the fine woodwork of both chambers and be unobstrusive.

Another feature would be the computer's ability to respond to all parliamentary questions, points of order and whatever, thereby relieving the harried clerks and parliamentarians for other duties. Pages and court officers could be dispensed with because the computer will not ask them to run errands. Door keepers could be assigned to explaining to tourists that there is no more need for legislators to show up in their chambers as the computer is doing all the work. The door-keepers can tell war stories about the good old days when there was torrid action on the House and Senate floors and how two and three-day sessions of the Legislature were common. "None of that stuff anymore," they would state, "computers don't fool around. They get the work done. Now it's a breeze in here." Even at night everybody can go home and let the computer spew out the bills without having to concern itself with the charge that night sessions are bad for good government. It would just whirl away while everybody is home sleeping.

Computer Would Dispose of Countless Bills

In the morning, Legislators would find out that during the night the computer has reported, amended, engrossed and enacted or killed 300 bills with ease and positive effect. Inasmuch as the computer would not have to run for re-election, it would give an honest appraisal and report on all legislation. The roll call machines could be disposed of in the House and there would be no need to call the roll in the Senate. This would be the best feature of the computer and one which the computer company would expand on during its sales pitch for an automated legislature. They would argue that voting is a nuisance and can get a legislator in a great deal of trouble.

Despite the bait for a "No-Roll-Call" feature in the GC-200, there is an undercurrent of fear and opposition permeating the General Court. Legislators are fearful of losing their jobs and in one of the splinter caucuses in the House, a vote was taken to fight the computer tooth and nail as the evil work of Hi-Tech Satans who want to get even for legislative action which has given the State its infamous name of "TAXACHUSETTS."

Hi-Tech People High on Automation

The Hi-Tech people have assured the Leadership that the GC-200 Computer is still in its experimental stage and when perfected will not entirely do away with legislators. Mostly what it will do is

clean up their act, speed up the process, report bills on time, get rid of garbage and self-serving junk bills, cut down on the demagoguery, back-scratching, rostrum conferences, caucuses, etc. The computer would cope with any crisis and not be concerned with next week's fundraiser. It would get the job of legislating done efficiently and with dispatch and send everybody home at the end of six months.

Also the Hi-Tech people argue that while the GC-200 Computer will have many features, it will not take on many jobs now performed by legislators. The first models will not be programmed for an all-out elimination of the 200-member legislative body. There will still be a need for legislators to show constituents and school children around the State House with photographs by Jack Leonard and staff. The computer will not venture into the world of constituent favors, junketeering, low number plates, notary public, blanks, summer jobs, sending letters to babies, voters, graduates and whatever and attending wakes, weddings, dinners and other functions.

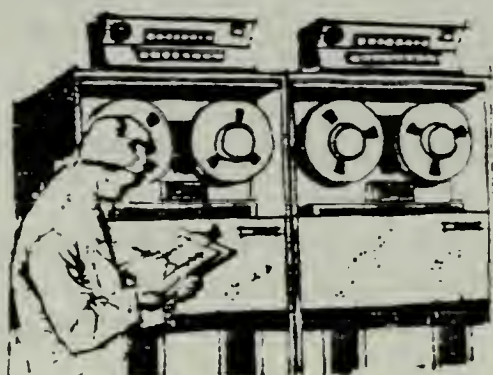
As one Hi-Tech executive put it: "Right now our interests lie in automating the legislative process which is over 200 years old. You can't do it with a few cosmetic rules changes. A computerized legislature is the way to go and our first generation computer the GC-200 (the "GC" standing for General Court) will do the job.

Prorogation by St. Patrick's Day a Possibility

If this computer is effective and our scientists and engineers say it will be trouble-free, then our second generation computer will be on line in a couple of years and will be able to take on many more legislative duties and obligations. Down the road in five or six years, we may reach the ultimate and our computers will be able to do away completely with the General Court and handle everything now performed on Beacon Hill with dispatch and with efficiency. In a few years, we may be able to prorogue the legislature no later than St. Patrick's Day on March 17."

One sober-faced legislator had this comment: "Those guys are crazy. It will never work."

To which a colleague, who had read a bit of history responded: "You think they're crazy? Well they said that about the steamboat, the airplane, the automobile, the light bulb and the rocket to the moon. We better take those Hi-Tech guys seriously. They can do some weird things with those silicon chips. If they really come after us, we're gone, so let's clean up our act, prorogue and get the hell out of here."



OLD TIME VOTERS KEPT AN EYE ON LEGISLATORS

AND GAVE THEM INSTRUCTIONS

The in-thing in these days of maverickism is for a legislator to do his-or-her own thing. Seldom are legislators in our modern society held to account by the local officials and town meetings for their actions on Beacon Hill and never are they instructed to do the bidding of the town in matters before the General Court.

Not so in the long ago days of early Massachusetts Government. It was the attitude of the early settlers and Colonial voters that if you don't tell your legislators what to do, they are liable to do anything. So, they instructed them.

A case in point was gleaned from an old history of the Town of Attleboro which told of the action of the town on May 22, 1776 shortly after Captain John Stearns was appointed to represent the community in the State Legislature.

These were the instructions from the town to Representative Stearns:

Sir: The town, reposing special confidence in your ability and integrity, have chosen you their representative at the Great and General Court for this year. At your request we take the liberty to suggest the following things to your attention as matters of great importance:

If the Continental Congress should think it best to declare for Independency of Great Britain, we unanimously desire you for us to engage to defend them therein with our lives and fortunes.

The fortifying and sufficiently providing for the defence of our seaport towns, especially the Metropolis of this Colony, is of such consequence as that parsimony or delay therein will be the worst of policy. We apprehend that the raising of soldiers for the defence of the Colony is retarded, and so rendered both more chargeable and less useful, for want of sufficient bounty to encourage enlistments; that the raising fewer forces at such a time than is necessary, which scatters the officers with whom whoever enlists will desire to be acquainted is like a hindrance to a speedy raising of forces.

Having heard a motion hath been made for paying representation out of the Public Chest, we think is unequal and expect you will oppose it. The charge of the selectmen in the service of the public hath been unequal in respect of the poor of Boston, and other matters in different towns, and therefore ought to be born by the public. If the Continental Congress should declare for Independency we desire in the new regulation the probate and register office be lodged in each town.

Other things in general we refer to your wisdom and fidelity, unless some special difficulty should occur, in which case you will please take our minds as occasion shall serve.

4

INDEPENDENT

A N D

UNIVERSAL



OCTOBER 26, 1780.

B O S T O N,

Opposite the Court-House.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE:

Printed by NATHANIEL WILLIS,

The Massachusetts General Court was no sooner sworn into office on October 25, 1780 when the local media jumped the members and warned them about the responsibilities of office and against high spending.

The very next day after the first inauguration of Constitutional Officers and General Court members Mr. Nathaniel Willis, Editor of "The Independent and Universal," gave forth with the following editorial advice:

To the members of the General Court: "You, as a member of the General Court will, I doubt not, promote economy and vote against all lavishment of public money. a young State, fighting for its existence, could imitate the frugality of the ancient Lacedemonians and not the luxury of the Persians. Tax upon tax will weary out the patience of the people should they perceive that the monies raised from them are expended to support needless parade or squandered away in profuse living.

The great officers of the State, whether the executive or judicial ought to be supported with dignity and to have salaries for the purpose. But we ought not to aim at a dignity beyond our abilities which will be reproachful as well as ruinous. It has been intimated as though a public table might be desired.

This sirs, like Pandora's box, would be full of evils and prove an opening for peculations without number. Those who are acquainted with the cost of public entertainment will shudder at the thought of a public table."

THIS WAS THE FIRST OF MANY THOUSANDS OF
EDITORIALS IN THE MASSACHUSETTS PRESS OVER
MORE THAN 200 YEARS WARNING AGAINST SPENDING
OF THE PUBLIC MONEY BY THE STATE LEGISLATURE.

SO YOU WANT TO BE A POLITICIAN . . . ?

By Tom Fitzgerald

John Adams once called politics "an ordeal path through red-hot plow shares." And John ought to know. He left the White House by the back door, in a huff about the whole thing.

Politics is a rough, tough game. It is intensely competitive, highly personal. It is loaded with uncertainties, perplexities, hard work. It is packed with petty griefs, annoyances, disappointments.

If you would embark upon a career in politics, be first sure that you fully appreciate the conditions and hazards involved.

CRITICISM AND ABUSE A politician is continually beset by enemies plotting to ruin him. They stop at nothing. Unfortunately, it is often easier and much more effective campaigning to point up the other fellow's shortcomings than it is to prove one's own worth -- and a great many campaigns are conducted on this lofty plane.

Then there is the heat of battle, the tempo set by the campaigners themselves, the frenzied fishing for those final few votes, the urge to retaliate for below-the-belt whispers (both real, rumored and misquoted), and the frayed nerves in the home-stretch drive; these singly or collectively bring out an incredible quality of small mindedness in otherwise high-minded men.

The custom of name calling and mud slinging in politics came early to the American scene. Just before his election in 1800, Thomas Jefferson was called, "liar, libeler, assassin . . ." In 1824 John Randolph referred to Henry Clay as a man "so brilliant and so corrupt that like rotten mackerel in the moonlight he shines and stinks." Adams described his foes as "skunks of party slander who have been squirting round the House of Representatives."

The villification of Jackson, the lampooning of Lincoln, the poison-pen attacks on Cleveland were not mere growing pains of a young Republic seeking to adjust itself. They have become deep-rooted in American politician practice.

In today's politics, they don't stop with tossing words and charges around, but manage to get in a few rocks and eggs as well.

It is not beyond hope that such intolerable acts can be brought to a summary halt, but it is safe to say that the other attacks will go on without end.

"Censure," says Swift, "is the tax that a man pays to the public for being eminent." In politics you pay the tax whether you ever get to be eminent or not.

No one escapes. The Common Councilman from the Third Ward--who serves without pay and sometimes wonders why he ever got into the thing at all--comes in for his share, too. He can't walk down the street sporting a new fedora without a certain cynical element among his neighbors casting each other knowing looks. "Don't worry," they say, "he's not in it for nothing. . . . He's getting his. . . ."

No voter is too mean or too lowly to despise and denounce public officials, candidates for public office and the managers of political campaigns. It is almost universally, if vaguely, felt that politics is not the most respectable of careers and, therefore, that politicians themselves are not quite respectable. The feeling runs from there down to that solid section of the citizenry who think that all politics are rotten and all politicians are rotten--and say so at every opportunity.

In private life, if you are generally pleasant and manage to buy the drinks just a little ahead of turn, it is fairly easy to remain a "good fellow;" but in politics, nothing you do is quite right--not even with your closest friends. And oftentimes their advice or admonition grates hard, however well-intentioned.

Make up your mind before you get into politics that you can't have a glass chin, else it will get cracked. If you have ghosts in your family closet, they will be brought out to dance for the multitude. The minute you step out from the crowd and run for public office, you become fair game and no closed season for every vindictive sniper in town.

You have become one of the whipping boys of a democracy -- a politician.

HARD WORK. . . . "If you're willing to give twenty-four hours a day to politics, you can succeed at it." A politician may advocate a short work week, but he'd better not practice it in his chosen profession or he'll soon find himself on the outside looking in.

And it's a year-'round job.

Campaigns are won BETWEEN elections, with grubby precinct work, the rung doorbell, the sidewalk confab. Immense physical energy of the type that can keep steadily renewing itself is probably more characteristic of the lifelong successful politician than any one other requisite. More elections are won on lungs and liver and legs than on brains.

And don't forget stomach! Ask the Mayor of your town about those banquets. . . .!

UNCERTAINTIES There is no game in the world as uncertain as politics. There is no stock system of success and there will never be. No two campaigns were ever exactly alike; and within the one campaign shifting developments may render fatal today that which was sound and sensible yesterday.

A man may have held office for years. He may think himself safely ensconced behind his own little Maginot Line. And what happens? Blitzkrieg!

Daniel Webster Hoan was Mayor of Milwaukee for twenty-four years. Along came a bright young lad of thirty-two with a baritone voice, unbounded energy and a smile. He sang "God Bless America" at the slightest provocation, shook a couple of thousand hands a day, telling all and sundry that "It's a great country!" and in he went.

In business, if a man has had ten or twelve or twenty years' experience on a job, he is ordinarily presumed to have more qualifications to carry on than a newcomer; but in politics he runs up against the bane of the old-timers, that inexplicable attitude of so many voters--"He's been in there long enough now. Let's give someone else a crack at the job."

You are never wholly safe. A single blunder either by the candidate or by someone close to him, particularly in the closing hours of a campaign, may destroy that which it took years to build.

Success in politics depends as much on the good will of the public as it does on the ability and personality of the individual. Sometimes it is within the individual's power to maneuver himself into safe ground in relations to public good will. Old-timers state bluntly that a politician's business is not to mold public opinion--it is to find out what public opinion is and get ahead of it. This is an incredibly uncertain proposition at times, and yet a politician cannot figure wrong too often or he finds himself on a toboggan.

Sometimes one wrong guess does the job.

At other times, there is nothing an individual can do which makes any difference. A tide sets in, sweeping in the opposite direction, and he goes down and out with it. No amount of individual ability, personality or fancy footwork avails.

PERPLEXITIES. . . . As a general rule, the man who makes politics his profession cannot safely depend upon his political income for the support of himself and his family. It is both desirable and advisable to have some supplementary business or profession to which he can readily revert when and if the axe of public disfavor falls. Government salaries as a rule are below those paid in private industry for comparable work. Even while holding what seems to the outside observer to be a lucrative office, many a public official has a hard time making both ends meet.

If the politician has as his motives a reasonable self-advancement and the doing of public good--a fair assumption--then he has his bread-winning problems even as you and I.

Except that when the going gets tough, you and I can blast the politician as the cause of it all. He hasn't got anyone to blast.

ANNOYANCES When an otherwise sensible citizen commits himself to the tender mercies of political give and take, he finds himself forced to do many things which he might never have done in private life.

He cannot pick his associates with the same freedom. Politics by its very nature attracts the greedy, the conniving, the inordinately ambitious, and fakirs galore. Operating as we do under a party system, it is often necessary for a candidate to work hand and glove with, and even pay public tribute to, other candidates whom he privately holds in the utmost contempt. What he does in the secrecy of the voting booth may be one thing, but during the campaign he goes "down the line for the ticket" -- or else.

Another annoyance is the necessity to humbug.

A politician must humbug. Yes, he must. Humbug is to the politician what make-up is to the stage or screen performer.

In the final analysis, the politician does not determine the rules of political behavior. The public does that. The politician for one reason or another is out to win a certain public office or to hold the one he's already got. The impulse to win is mighty; and if he blurts out honestly and fearlessly everything that is on his mind regardless of his audience, then he just won't win. It's as simple as that!

There is no way to obtain complete frankness on both sides of a political fight. In every campaign where there is a contest the opposition will be cagey and careful. They will be fishing for every vote from every angle and with every conceivable bait. They will hedge. They will stall. They will "weigh all the aspects of the situation preparatory to reaching a final decision." They will not let a trick go by when promise or cajolery might take it. To meet such tactics with straight-from-the-shoulder outspokenness may be the lofty course, but it is a lonely one, for who loves a loser?

A politician must trim his views to meet the opinions of others. Sometimes he must even profess to beliefs which he does not hold. During the struggle over prohibition, the place fairly teemed with wets in dry districts who voted dry and with drys in wet districts who voted wet. Some stuck to their guns regardless, but you won't find their names in today's Congressional Directory.

Of course we all humbug more or less regardless of our calling. Just cast your mind over the different occupations and the amount of routine humbug that is daily dished out in each of them -- in medicine, for instance, in the ministry, in advertising, in selling, in the practice of law. . . . Of course, it isn't called humbug. It's called "the professional manner." It's called "sound business procedure." Only in politics is the effort to sell your product to the public in the wrapping the public prefers called "humbug."

But mere humbug is not the worst of it, by any means; a politician sometimes finds himself forced to go even further than that if he is to stay in the running. He may have to suffer indignities, put on an act that amounts to veritable clowning.

A man may have tremendous capabilities for public good--capabilities which could be crystalized into constructive action for the general betterment if he but held a certain public office and the prestige, the title, the publicity value that go with it. He may have brains and talent and qualifications galore. The community may need him and need him bad, and he may feel impelled to

throw himself into the race from motives of highest idealism. But first, he's got to get that office; and if the voters of that community want a banjo player for the job, then he'd better get a banjo and start strumming.

PETTY GRIEFS. . . . The politician who has sweated blood rounding up enough votes to win an election is amazed when it is all over to discover the number of people who were on his band wagon. They not only voted for him themselves, but they also delivered the votes of their families, their friends, their neighbors, their wards or districts, their organizations, clubs, racial groups. After he wins they come to see him, and they keep coming to see him; and there are more of them as time goes on until he begins to think that he has met in person every single vote cast for him--and this without even considering the family and friends, etc., etc.

They are a self-effacing lot, too. They did their work quietly and unassumingly. True, they didn't come out too openly, but you know how those things are. They never expect anything; they never asked anything of any office holder; they did it because they thought he was the best man for the job. That's why. But a little something has come up and they wondered if. . . .

Mostly it's a job.

Now it's tough enough to turn these people down, for there is wheat among the chaff, and they all sound so sincere (the biggest bluffer usually sounds the most convincing); but it's tougher still to turn down friends and staunch supporters who have really worked loyally and devotedly for you.

They are down on their luck. Most of them are satisfied that if you really wanted to help them you could do so. A few expect that because you are in office you can move mountains. The others --those who accept your explanations in good grace--leave you with the uneasy feeling that somehow you have let them down.

There just aren't enough jobs to go around, that's all.

And bad as that part is, the worst is yet to come. The worst part is in giving out what jobs there are. Then the trouble really begins. Twenty shocked, grieved, disappointed, cooled friends for the one half-satisfied appointee who more than likely thinks that he got only that which he richly earned and rightfu' deserved anyway--and it's the very least you could do for him

There isn't a politician alive who hasn't devotedly wished there never was such a thing as patronage. But there is!

DISAPPOINTMENTS Well, let's end up this inquiry into the conditions and hazards involved in a political career where all politicians end up. Disappointed.

Yes, they all end up disappointed--every last one of them. They all think that they should have gone higher, that they might have gone higher if it hadn't been for this and that. And even of those who have gone to the top--to the Presidency--it may be shown with an abundance of supporting argument that not one ever willingly left the White House.

Practically no one ever simply ups and retires from politics. They may be knocked out or driven out or forced out from reasons of health or business or family. But they never get out the way a business or professional man might close up shop and take to a life of leisure or a chicken farm.

Once the political bee stings a man, he stays stung--for life. Come the fall of the year and he's itching at the post. Every football on his doorstep is a committee of citizens come to draft him as their candidate for public office. He falls to sleep making a magnificent speech of acceptance. . .

"Few die and none resign" is a truism of politics.

The time to get out of politics is before you get in.

From the host of hopefuls, both new and perennial, who get their names on the ballot in every election in every city, town and hamlet in the country, it must become obvious that a career in politics, despite its drawbacks, is not without its impelling attractions.

Let us look at a few.

PRESTIGE. . . . Psychologists call it by various terms--"deference" and "recognition" among others--and they'll quote you different starting prices; but none of them fail to list the

desire to Be Somebody as one of the three or four innate hungers which propel man's behavior. William James rates it as the deepest principle of human nature.

Politics offers a wide open highway to prestige that is equalled in no other line of endeavor. At the end of the road is the Presidency of the United States and along the way is a myriad of stopping-off places whose occupants are all Somebodies.

Suppose Joe Politician is moderately successful in politics --say he succeeds to the Office of Mayor in his town or city.

He is at the Head Table at the Banquet. He even gets to speak. His name is in the papers. He is quoted--he is news. He is a leader. He is one whom the boys from the State Capital and Washington make it a point to visit when they come to town.

Forever afterward, he is referred to as ex-Mayor So-and-So. When he dies, the flag at City Hall goes to half-mast; there are silk hats at his funeral; his picture is on Page One; and even the Press says nice things about him for once.

He is a Somebody.

Oh, they'll scoff at Joe Politician. They'll call him a handshaker, a crook, a grafter. They'll say they wouldn't be Mayor themselves if the job was handed to them on a silver platter. But that's only because for one reason or another they know they haven't got a chance to make it. If the real truth were known, few men would refuse the honor. Most would pretty nearly break their necks to get it--if the truth were known.

Just the way Joe Politician nearly broke his. . . .

POWER. . . . Power is a heady wine and few men can resist it. Politics is the quest for power.

The fruits of power are social position, economic advantage, and security to those who possess it.

From the common Councilman to the President, Joe Politician has a voice in Things. He has a hand in directing the destiny of

his fellow human beings. He has power. He not only is Somebody, but he Does Things.

ACTION. . . . Politics is never dull. It is Life--speeded up. It is a crowded existence with events moving swiftly. It is People--at their best and at their worst.

Politics offers the spectacle of combat, thrilling, exciting episodes, the maneuvering for position, the froth and fury of the homestretch drive--and Victory.

And Victory brings Prestige -- and Power -- and the Fruits of Power.

SATISFACTION. . . . Politicians come in all shapes and sizes and sorts. From preacher to poacher their variety is infinite, but they all have one function in common.

They serve their constituents.

What that service is depends upon the wants of those constituents. From the Ward Leader, it is mostly fellow creature wants --jobs, food, a ton of coal, a little "fix" for the petty law-breaker. For the International Big Boys it is, of course, bigger stuff--mostly Real Estate.

But the underlying principle is always the same. A politician serves his constituents. That is, if he wants to stay in office. And they all do.

Most people who get into politics are willing and eager to serve. It's the kind of a calling that calls to that kind of people. Maybe it feeds their ego to be doing things for others --never mind the motive--they want to do things for others, and for them politics offers a field of rich rewards.

The Athenian Oath

WE WILL NEVER BRING DISGRACE
TO THIS OUR CITY, BY ANY ACT
OF DISHONESTY OR COWARDICE.
NOR EVER DESERT OUR SUFFERING
COMRADES IN THE RANKS: WE WILL
FIGHT FOR THE IDEALS AND SA-
CRED THINGS OF THE CITY, BOTH
ALONE AND WITH MANY: WE WILL
REVERE AND OBEY THE CITY'S LAWS
AND DO OUR BEST TO INCITE A
LIKE RESPECT IN THOSE ABOVE US
WHO ARE PRONE TO ANNUL OR
SET THEM AT NAUGHT: WE WILL
STRIVE UNCEASINGLY TO QUICKEN
THE PUBLIC'S SENSE OF CIVIC DUTY.
THUS IN ALL THESE WAYS WE WILL
TRANSMIT THIS CITY NOT ONLY
NOT LESS, BUT GREATER, AND
MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN IT WAS
TRANSMITTED TO US.

